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MR. BRIGHT AND THE FINANCIAL REFORMERS.

THE doubts which have been entertained as to the existence of the Financial Reform Association are unfortunately not dispelled by the report of the Liverpool meeting. Three or four thousand persons met in the Philharmonic Hall to hear a speech from Mr. BRIGHT, and an equally numerous audience might have been collected for the same purpose in any large town in the kingdom. As Mr. ROBERTSON GLADSTONE was unfortunately kept away by indisposition, there is no reason to suppose that a single member of the supposed Association took part in the proceedings. It is satisfactory to know that the LORD-LIEUTENANT of the county wished every success to the object of the meeting, or, in other words, to the imposition of an enormous tax upon property. When King JAMES received from a courtly bishop the answer that he might take the goods of his subjects at pleasure, because he was the very breath of their nostrils, a more cautious prelate met the same demand by the admission that the King had a perfect right to take the goods of his right reverend brother. On similar grounds Mr. BRIGHT is welcome to levy any percentage which he may think desirable on the Earl of SEFTON's estate. Smaller owners of property, down to yeomen and petty fundholders, will reserve the question whether one class of incomes ought to be exceptionally taxed for the public service.

Mr. COBDEN relieved the fears of his friends by the assurance that he is living at Paris "with all his children," "as safe from attack or injury of any kind, so long as I refrain from molesting or attacking others, as if I were residing in London or Liverpool. Whence springs the idea of danger which pervades the public mind at home?" Mr. COBDEN will be gratified by learning that the rifle volunteers are not drilling to prevent a sudden massacre of English residents and their children in the Boulevards and the Rue de Rivoli. Baron HÜBNER, and many of his countrymen, were, a year ago, living, "with all their children," in Paris, nor have those who remained been exposed to the smallest personal danger; yet the alarm which in the winter "pervaded the public mind" in Vienna was justified in the spring by an unprovoked war, although the quarrel was not even caused by the undeniably vicious system of customs duties which prevails both in France and in Austria. The artificial restrictions on the trade between the opposite shores of the Channel are undoubtedly mischievous and absurd; but Mr. COBDEN is well aware that the obstacles to the introduction of a sounder system are interposed neither by the Government nor by the much-abused landed proprietors of England. The address which was presented in the name of the imaginary Association, with characteristic accuracy, described the duty on wine as a protective tax, although there is no English wine to protect. It is for Manchester, Spitalfields, and Coventry to explain why really protective duties are still maintained on silk, on velvet, on ribbons, on lace, on gloves, on sewn goods, and on cambrics. Country gentlemen, with their wives and daughters, would readily assent to the removal of the anomaly, although the additional instalment of Free-trade might add little to their sense of security when they indulge themselves in a fortnight's visit to Paris.

Mr. BRIGHT naturally took the opportunity of defending himself against the "masked conspirators" of the *Times*, and of repelling "the congenial slanders which are vomited forth every week in the columns of the great Saturday Reviler." His audience probably supposed that his arguments against indirect taxation were an answer to the criticisms which have been necessarily called forth by far more sweeping and indefensible doctrines. Mr. BRIGHT has repeatedly maintained, not only that customs and excise duties are pernicious, but that they have been selfishly imposed by a privileged class for the sake of shifting its own proper burdens

on the shoulders of the unrepresented population. The reply, that the House of Commons has for many years been employed in redressing the balance, is not to be met by the suggestion that the war income-tax has been repealed, while the descent of the tea and sugar duties has, down to the present time, been arrested. The war ninapence, as it was called, was put on before it was taken off—or, in other words, the chief additional burden of the war was voluntarily assumed by the wealthier classes. On the return of peace, every town in the kingdom held a meeting to petition for the repeal of the tax, and the unanimous vote of the borough members would have coerced the Government into submission if the impost had not been officially surrendered. But, says Mr. BRIGHT, "two millions more of permanent Income-tax have been given up in the present year. . . . So far from the financial policy of Sir ROBERT PEEL being extended, the House of Commons is deliberately engaged in reversing it, by abandoning the instrument by which alone it can be maintained or extended." Neither two millions nor two farthings of Income-tax have been given up in the present year, although Mr. DISRAELI, then holding office with the support of Mr. BRIGHT, unwisely made a reduction of two millions in 1858. The trifling circumstance that Mr. GLADSTONE has in the present year added four millions to half a year's Income-tax, seems to have escaped from the memory of the orator in the heat of his "congenial slanders." It is remarkable that the unfounded charge against the House of Commons, of abandoning Sir ROBERT PEEL's instrument of financial reform, is part of an apology for a letter which was itself an angry protest against the Income-tax. It is true that Mr. BRIGHT wishes to relieve income at the expense of property; but the tax which the House of Commons is accused of abandoning is the same which has just been increased by eighty per cent.

"The great Saturday Reviler" has never been backward in pointing out the serious evils which arise from all taxes on consumption. The only excuse for indirect duties is that money must be found for State purposes, and that the community is not willing to meet the demand by a direct tax equally and justly assessed. Mr. BRIGHT always confuses the distinction between real and personal property with the respective claims to favour or immunity of the rich and the poor. He protests against stamp duties, or bills of exchange, because they fall upon traders, and he has nothing to say against stamps on leases, because they constitute a burden on landholders. On questions of this kind it is useless to argue, because there is no difference of principle between the advocates of equal taxation and the demagogues who still shrink from proposing a distinctive measure of confiscation against owners of land. No details of a system of direct taxes can affect Mr. BRIGHT's main proposition, that one class ought to return the House of Commons, and another class ought to pay all the taxes. Income-tax, succession duty, stamp duty, and assessed taxes may be shuffled about in every conceivable manner without any immediate pressure on 5% householders and factory operatives.

As to 27,000,000*l.* of revenue, Mr. BRIGHT has a definite plan to propose. All the property of this country is to be valued, and every hundred pounds of principal is to pay eight shillings a year. The scheme is equivalent to an average Income-tax of about ten per cent. on personality, and twelve per cent. on land; but the balance would to some extent be redressed by the incidence of the tax on furniture and similar property which produces no actual income. Except so far as the burden would fall on Lord SEFTON, no proposal could be more scandalously unjust. The poor widow with 5*l.* a year would pay 5*l.*, and the retired tradesman with 500*l.* a year would pay 50*l.*, while the lawyer and

the doctor with 500*l.* or 5000*l.* a-year would escape scot-free, and the millionaire manufacturer would only pay on the interest of his capital, instead of returning his profits. No plausible reason has ever been given for the intervention of the Legislature to disturb the proportion which natural causes have established between the earnings and the other resources of the community. If Mr. BRIGHT is prepared to abide by his own doctrine, he must exempt from all direct and indirect taxation the Attorney-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lord Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The duties on spirits and tobacco—which, it seems, are still to be levied—would only affect those high functionaries to a trifling extent, and the exception is in itself altogether arbitrary.

The new constituency will pass tax-free, if it only thinks fit for a time to abstain from smoking and drinking. As Mr. BRIGHT observes, "no plummet line will ever fathom the depth of the selfishness of any particular class—no matter what class it may be—intrenched in the seats of 'irresponsible power.'" It may therefore be inferred that, as soon as the reformed House of Commons controls the finances of the country, the duties on spirits and tobacco will go the way of all Customs and Excise, and another three or four per cent. will be added by the irresponsible electors to the Income-tax on unhappy proprietors. Mr. BRIGHT abstains from noticing the obvious inference from his own doctrines, that the untaxed multitude will have no motive for economy in the public expenditure; yet the objection has been "vomited forth" on many successive Saturdays, and it has been repeated on every other day of the week by "conspirators against the 'commonwealth'" writing in various journals. The Liverpool speech is perhaps, on the whole, less mischievous than some of Mr. BRIGHT's effusions, because it is in form, if not in substance, rather argumentative than declamatory. Fallacies and sophisms always admit of confutation, although it may be difficult to counteract their influence. Against vituperation, calumny, and the language of envy, hatred, and malice in general, no sufficient defence exists except the honesty and good taste of the community.

SPANISH CREDIT.

THERE is no country which is so likely as Spain to add a new element to the commercial and even to the political system of Europe. For most purposes the Spanish peninsula is as virgin a territory as British Columbia or Moreton Bay. The effect of the conquests of CORTÉZ and PIZARRO was virtually to move Spain across the Atlantic, and to expend in South and Central America the energy, courage, and skill which had just begun to rivet the admiration of Europe on the Spanish people. Indeed, the best explanation of the moral catalepsy which so long prostrated the Monarchy is found in the fact that Spain was merely the metropolis of a dominant race, whose true field of exertion was in Mexico, the Plate, and Peru. But the loss of her colonies brought Spain back to her European position, and it has only been a remarkable combination of natural difficulty and not undeserved bad fortune which has hitherto confined her to penury, obscurity, and discredit. She had herself to thank for her civil war and for the bad government which she tolerated from two disreputable Sovereigns. But the other difficulties which caused her resources to be wasted were certainly not of her own creating. She could not help the physical configuration of her territory, which divides it into four or five regions of extraordinarily different elevation. Nor was the existing generation of Spaniards responsible for the state of the landed tenures, which did all which bad laws can do to discourage production. By a singular chance, however, all these drawbacks on prosperity have been removed or greatly mitigated nearly at the same moment. Her civil war has come to an end under such circumstances that it can never be revived. Her Court has been frightened out of meddling, and shamed into respectability. A great system of railways is rapidly rendering communication as easy as in any part of Europe. And, most important of all, the whole of the land held in mortmain by the State, the Church, and certain great corporations, is being sold to individual purchasers. Without this last measure no railways would have been of the least avail, for the agricultural produce which is destined to be the great wealth of the Peninsula would never have been raised from the soil. As it is, the land will be quickly disposed of, since the equitable arrangement effected with the Pope and the Clergy has, for

the first time, diffused confidence in titles to estates sold under the authority of the State.

The little attention which has been paid in England to these considerations, and to the still more tangible fact that the Spanish revenue has increased in a few years by nearly three millions sterling, is probably attributable to the evil aspect under which Spain shows herself in the English Stock market. There she is regarded as a Power which long could not pay—and now that she can pay, will not pay—her past debts. Perhaps her present comparative solvency is looked upon with even more disfavour than her downright bankruptcy ten years ago. The exhaustion of the civil war was sufficient moral justification for not paying interest on her liabilities, but monied men in England cannot pardon her for not laying by every dollar produced by the profits of returning peace till the whole of her arrears are satisfied. It is, however, only fair to admit that the conduct of Spain has not been quite so bad as the habitual tone of English City articles would seem to imply. Nine years since she made an effort—and on the whole a creditable one—to retrieve her credit. She capitalized her unpaid interest, and made arrangements for gradually placing the new stock on a level with the rest of her debt. This mode of settling with her creditors was as much as was expected from her, and perhaps the best she could have adopted; but unfortunately she chose to capitalize at 50 per cent., or, in other words, to pay only half of what she owed. Her excuse, in her own eyes, was the low rate at which her coupons for unpaid interest were quoted in the market, and her knowledge that her present creditors had mostly purchased their claims for a fraction of their nominal amount. Such reasoning as this appears to be exceedingly persuasive in countries where the code of commercial ethics is as yet imperfect; but to the strict commercial morality of England it is simply an abomination, for Englishmen no more allow a defaulting nation than they do a bankrupt tradesman to take advantage of the depreciation of debt which is the natural consequence of insolvency. There was not, however, much policy or prudence in the course taken by the English creditors of Spain, when the proposal to capitalize the unpaid interest was laid before them in 1851. They seem to have half-accepted and half-rejected it. Practically, what they did was to take the new stock which represented half their claim, and then to keep alive, by protest, their right to the remainder. This was surely a mistake, for it left the Spanish Government in a position to say that a definite arrangement, proposed for acceptance or rejection, had been assented to by the English creditors, and that their acceptance had been subsequently confirmed by the receipt of interest on the stock tendered to them in lieu of their claims. Better advised, the English coupon-holders would have rejected the proposal altogether. The truth was, they underrated the eagerness of Spain to clear her commercial reputation. They assumed that, if the offer was declined, no further or better settlement would be tendered by their defaulting debtor. They took what they could get, without waiving their right to the rest. We believe, however, that all classes of Spaniards are now thoroughly aware of the immense detriment which their long insolvency has entailed on them, and that the English creditors, by simply standing out, would have obtained juster and more advantageous terms through this revulsion of feeling. At the same time, it is much to be hoped that Spain, for her own sake, will not take her stand on the mere juridical question whether her compromise was assented to, and what were the consequences of such an assent. She must bring herself to understand that capitalizations of interest at fifty per cent. will never restore lost national credit, and that she must somehow effect an arrangement for clearing off the whole of her arrears. Less than this will leave her the commercial Pariah of Europe, though she should double her revenue and cover herself with railroads.

The prosperity which appears to dawn from so many quarters on Spain will assuredly cloud over if she either dissipates her resources or prevents herself from utilizing them by neglecting opportunities of retrieving her credit. There will be no use in trying to stimulate her productive powers if the flow of foreign capital to her shores is prevented by doubts of her good faith, and no use in unlocking her soil from legal bondage if her spare hands are all transported to Morocco. The annexation of territory in Africa would be a calamity to Spain far beyond the expense and perplexity it would occasion to her Government. National characteristics do not die out in a community of pure and

unmixed blood; and the Spanish people still retains to a surprising extent the colonizing spirit which distinguished it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All recent travellers agree that the only true colonists of French Algeria are Spaniards. The French immigrants feed on the civil and military expenditure, but the Spaniards support themselves on the soil. A Spanish Morocco would therefore be far more injurious to Spain than is French Algeria to France. The latter is merely a burden, but the former would be a dangerously attractive field to the population of the conquering country. Every single Spaniard is wanted in Spain, and a wholesale expatriation of the agricultural classes is exactly the one thing which would be fatal to her opening prospects.

THE APOLOGY OF ENGLAND.

COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT lately designated the recent policy of England as ignoble, and Continental politicians of all colours have, with a kind of discordant harmony, anticipated or echoed the charge. It might be answered that accusations from opposite quarters in many cases destroy one another; for, in the present controversy, as at the siege of Angiers—

Austria and France shoot in each other's mouth.

A nation for once almost unanimous in opinion and in feeling cannot at the same time act with injustice to the POPE, shrink with groundless timidity from revolution, display a culpable indifference to the cause of order, and regulate its policy, as Mr. DUNCOMBE suggests, in obedience to the insidious suggestions of Austria. Nevertheless, it is possible that one of the conflicting imputations may be well-founded, and it may be admitted that in some sensitive English minds there is at present a vague sense of uncertainty and dissatisfaction. The indigenous scruple by no means coincides with the hostile denunciations which proceed from any class of foreigners. The tough and well-tried national conscience is proof against the familiar assaults of French jealousy, of Absolutist dislike, and of Ultramontane acrimony; but, untroubled by logical demonstrations, it is sometimes haunted by a doubt whether England, after taking no part in the war, has not spoken too loudly in the discussions on the peace. The doctrine of neutrality, which was proclaimed with superfluous reiteration during the Italian campaign, although it supplied at the time the only reasonable rule of conduct, is not calculated to excite permanent enthusiasm as an article of national faith. A policy of non-interference has, in fact, been consistently maintained since the commencement of the Italian troubles. The sympathy which was sparingly bestowed on the foreign champions of Italy has been eagerly extended to the Italians, who, notwithstanding the dictation of Villafranca, have persevered in thinking and acting for themselves. During both periods, England, by example and remonstrance, has protested against the disturbers of peace and the enemies of national independence. Those who censure the conduct which has been pursued should consider whether they would have been prepared either to join in the war against Austria or to share in the forcible restoration of the Central Italian Pretenders. The frothy charlatans who complain of a supposed attack on the legitimate sovereignty of the POPE can scarcely be expected to understand that the English Government has, up to the present time, taken no share whatever in the affairs of the Legations. A grave statesman like M. DE MONTALEMBERT ought, notwithstanding his religious enthusiasm, to have remembered that slackness in entering a Congress only indicates a disinclination to interfere in the affairs of a foreign community. The parallel which has been drawn between the griefs of Romagna and the Irish discontents of former times is wholly irrelevant and inapplicable. England never asked for foreign assistance to repress the disaffection of Ireland, while the Holy See relies exclusively on the aid of the Catholic States or of the Great Powers. The recognition of a *de facto* Government is a necessary and neutral act, which is wholly irrespective of the merits of any preliminary revolution. If the Holy See can reconquer its rights, the intervention of a Congress will be unnecessary; and, in the mean time, it would be utterly unjust. The policy of England has been thus far merely passive and negative, except that it has incidentally imposed a check on the usurping activity of other Powers.

It has suited the purposes of France and of Austria to concur, for different reasons, in the demand for a Congress.

No less imposing authority could either sanction undue interference or sufficiently cover a retreat from untenable pretensions. The Emperor of the FRENCH, after promising to restore the fugitive Princes of Central Italy, has contrived to reserve for the great European tribunal the responsibility of performing or repudiating his undertaking. The Austrian Government probably hopes to obtain some compensation for the non-performance of a hasty promise, and as the arrangements of the Vienna Congress have been rudely disturbed, it may have been thought that a fresh guarantee is wanting for the possession of Venetia. In considering the invitation, it was obviously the right and duty of England to guard against a criminal and gratuitous complicity in future acts of injustice. No politician above the level of a Catholic Young Man will maintain that it was the proper business of the English Government to assist the POPE in the recovery of his authority over Romagna; and yet a participation in the Congress would, in default of previous stipulations, have involved an implied participation in the policy which the majority might think fit to adopt. As the Italians are perfectly prepared to settle their own affairs without external assistance, the presumption is that a Congress is likely to impose wrongful restrictions on their freedom of action. The desire of checking any vexatious intervention is the principle of conduct which has been unreasonably denounced as ignoble.

It happens that, in the present instance, political expediency coincides with the plain dictates of reason and justice. The traditional policy which has attempted to surround France with a girdle of dependent States is directly opposed to the interests of England and of Europe. There is no security for the general peace as long as the two great monarchies of Central Europe are separated by a debateable land of petty principalities. Down to the close of the first French Empire, there was always an open or latent conflict for influence in the minor German States on the Rhine and on the Danube. The Federal League, with all its imperfections, has effectually closed Germany to foreign intimidation; and if Piedmont expands into an independent Power even of the second order, the valley of the Po will at last cease to furnish a battle-field for Austria and France. It is remarkable that, during the long continuance of the controversy, no disputant has ventured to deny that the policy proposed by the provisional Governments of Central Italy would tend to steady the balance of power. It has been said that union, though accomplished, was impossible—that the precedent of successful revolution was dangerous—and, above all, that the inviolability of the Papal possession was dear to the Catholic world. That the establishment of a powerful kingdom would keep foreign armies out of Italy is a proposition tacitly admitted by the bitterest enemies of Piedmont. It has never been the policy of England to precipitate the union by artificial means, but since it has been produced by natural causes operating under favourable opportunities, it is proper not only to abstain from disturbing it, but to give it every practicable support.

The feelings of sympathy for the Italian cause, which in this instance harmonize with sound policy and with public law, are assuredly not ignoble. There is intolerable insolence in the paradoxical assertion that Italy alone among European nations is incompetent to govern and defend itself. The presence of French soldiers in Rome, or of Austrian garrisons in Ferrara and Ancona, has always been felt as an outrage on the common rights of a civilized nation. If the POPE could persuade or compel his subjects to obey him, Englishmen, wondering at their taste, would still readily acknowledge their competency to render the most anomalous of Governments perfectly legitimate. Since long experience has proved that the Ecclesiastical States can only be retained by the aid of a foreign force, any additional sanction afforded by a Congress to a chronic usurpation would be a wanton act of oppression. It fortunately appears that the POPE is by no means disposed to countenance the pious fictions by which his zealous protectors seek to excuse their interference. The official gazette of Rome recently announced that the projected reforms, in which no human being ever believed, have been exaggerated even by the modest rumours which purported to affirm their reality. If France and Austria are deprived of a conventional excuse for tyrannical dictation, the course of England will be, if possible, more unmistakeably defined.

Future revelations will show whether the Government has steadily followed out the consistent and generous policy which has commanded the unanimous assent of the nation.

The Ministers have probably been beset by suggestions and remonstrances from professional diplomatists, who think that straightforward measures are necessarily irregular, and from aristocratic sceptics, who distrust the most plausible reasoning if it tends to sanction and confirm a noble impulse. Collateral issues relating to Florentine gossip, to Sardinian scandal, or to vague rumours of revolutionary projects, have been thrust forward to confuse the simple questions of the welfare of Italy, the interest of Europe, and the duty of England. It is not known whether any of the Ministers have adopted the perverse view of foreign affairs which may probably have attractions for one or two of their body. Those members of the Cabinet who at other times might have been most liable to error or to paradox, on this occasion really sympathize with the wish and opinion of the whole community. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Mr. GLADSTONE, and probably Lord PALMERSTON, wish well to the cause of Italy, and understand that it is inseparably identified with the aggrandizement of Piedmont. Any of their colleagues who may advocate a timid deference to Austria or to France will do well to remember the utter failure, on the eve of the Russian war, of a foreign policy which deliberately ran counter to the feeling of the country. It is fair to admit that up to the present time the Government is not known to have failed in any portion of its duty. Whatever may be the result of the Congress, no disappointment or official shortcoming can deprive the nation of the credit which belongs to a clear appreciation of the crisis and of the mission of England.

THE SHIPOWNERS' MEETING.

A FEW weeks since we noticed the mistake of supposing that the Protectionist theory was particularly congenial to the agricultural classes. We asserted that, so long as sound economical views are imperfectly diffused, Protectionism is sure to take root wherever a producing class finds it worth its while to aim at the monopoly of a profitable home-market; and we said that, if the great towns had not found foreign countries their most profitable customers, they would have clamoured as loudly as the farmers and landlords for a protective tariff, and would probably have adhered much more obstinately to their error. The shipowners' meeting comes in aptly for the proof of these positions. The gentlemen who met on Tuesday at the London Tavern belong precisely to the same class which agitated for Free-trade fifteen years ago. Mr. BRAMLEY-MOORE and Mr. DUNCAN DUNBAR are neither stupider, nor more selfish, nor more swayed by servility to the aristocracy, than Mr. CROSSLEY and Mr. SALT, whom Mr. BRIGHT declared exclusively worthy of being dukes or marquises in England. If the country is to be delivered over to the government of the great towns because they were right and the agricultural counties were wrong in the struggle of 1845—which we understand to be Mr. BRIGHT's position—let it be remembered that the middle class and the great towns ought also to have the credit of having produced the ghastly fallacies which cover half a sheet of the *Times* at the end of 1859.

The meeting of Tuesday is also instructive as showing what is the state of things from which Sir ROBERT PEEL saved us. If it had not been for the glorious "treason" of 1846, noblemen and gentlemen of great intelligence would still be repeating—in neater language perhaps, and with a few grains more of tortuous sophistry—the extraordinary arguments which almost make us wonder that the human intellect can descend so low in the speeches of Mr. DUNBAR and Mr. BRAMLEY-MOORE. Lord DERBY—it may be Sir JAMES GRAHAM himself—would be lamenting that, while our imports from France were worth fourteen millions, "on which a vast amount of labour had been expended," our exports to that country were only valued at four millions, and consisted chiefly of raw material. Mr. BRIGHT and Mr. COBDEN would be growing greater and greater by confuting the proposition that the more labour you expend on your manufacture and the more you are obliged to ask for it, the better is your chance of selling it profitably, and that the climax of profit is to sell the commodity you produce at ten millions less than it cost you. Mr. DISRAELI, who would of course be on the Free-trade side, would just have exposed, in his fifteenth volume of fiction, the deficient Christianity of the doctrine that the "great principle is to take care of ourselves first," and, if we have anything to spare, to give it to our neighbour. From a policy based on the assumption that a foreigner eats less than an Englishman, Sir ROBERT PEEL delivered the country. From the necessity of defending such

an assumption against the criticisms of Mr. BRIGHT, he delivered the British aristocracy.

It is probable that, in spite of the immense increase of British tonnage, the English shipping interest has some real grievances to complain of. The passing tolls are utterly indefensible, and belong to the same class of exactions as the dues levied on small craft by the robber-lords of the now ruined castles on the middle Rhine. A few, too, of the anomalies in our customs tariff noticed by one or two of the speakers—as, for example, the duty on manufactured anchors—may require correction if properly brought under the attention of the Legislature. The most respectful consideration, moreover, is assuredly merited by the complaints of Mr. BEAZLEY as to the working of certain well-meant Acts of Parliament, in which the interest of the shipowner has been too little consulted. If it be true that the effect of the Passengers' Act is to give American vessels an advantage over their British competitors, inasmuch as they are free to disregard the very securities provided for the comfort and safety of emigrants, no time should be lost in attempting to obviate a result which is the reverse of that contemplated by the Legislature. The resolutions passed at the London Tavern call the attention of Parliament to all these drawbacks, but, unfortunately, the language of most of the speakers was directly hostile to their removal. Nothing could exceed the scorn with which Mr. LINDSAY's suggestions on this point were listened to. His denunciation of the Whitby tolls was received with a shout of "Screw colliers!" An explanation of this expression was given at a recent gathering in the North. It seems that the greater part of the agitating shipowners are proprietors of sailing coasters which find it difficult to compete with the screw-steamers now employed in carrying coal from the Tyne to the Thames. The owners of the sailing craft are of opinion that the removal of the Whitby tolls would only facilitate the enterprise of the screw-colliers, which of course suffer more heavily than sailing ships from such exactions in proportion as their equipment is more expensive and the margin left for profit smaller. Accordingly, Mr. LINDSAY's critics regard the Whitby tolls as a sort of protective duty—an impost protecting sails against steam! Did the authors of Mr. POTTER's strike devise anything more monstrous? These well-to-do, broadcloth-clad gentlemen have placed themselves exactly on a level with the masons who invented the rule that nobody should pass the trowel from one hand to the other, because it rendered labour unnaturally efficient.

Mr. LINDSAY's public career has not always deserved commendation; but on this occasion he showed remarkable intelligence and remarkable courage. The leaders of this agitation evidently pride themselves on limiting their demands to "reciprocity" as something less exorbitant and more reasonable than Protection. Mr. LINDSAY did boldly and wisely in telling them that true "reciprocity" was not only more onerous to the country than Protection, but was a form of Protection which the shipping interest had never had, and never ventured to hope for, since the principles of commercial interchange made the least way in England. In fact "reciprocity" bears to the system of the repealed Navigation-laws the same relation which Prohibition bore to the system of the repealed Corn-laws. All the old arguments for a Corn-law were good for a prohibitive duty. All the current arguments for a Navigation-law are good for a scheme of differential duties which would make the ignorance and exclusiveness of the most ignorant and exclusive foreign nations the measure of English commercial policy. If the principle is worth a straw, it is worth carrying out in its integrity, and yet we do not suppose that Mr. G. F. YOUNG himself would have the face to ask for a system of duties impossible from its complexity no less than intolerable from its burdensomeness. But it is wasted time considering what would be the practical effect of the shipowners' doctrines carried into action. Their agitation is a hopeless one, and the only point about which curiosity can be busy is, how long will a fraction of the "industrious and intelligent" "middle-class" be enthralled by fallacies so coarse and devoted to objects so selfish.

DOCKYARD ACCOMMODATION.

THE one consolation which Englishmen have enjoyed when reminded of the insufficiency of the material of the navy has been derived from the undoubted fact that this country possesses the means of adding to her strength with

a rapidity which no foreign State can match. There is some danger, however, lest we should be deceived on this point, as we have been deceived on so many others. Our navy shrank without notice from preponderance to equality—and almost to inferiority—to that of France before the world at large could believe it possible that a Board of Admiralty could consent to fritter away without effect the sums entrusted to it for the maintenance of our naval ascendancy. The truth that the money was squandered in mismanagement, and that the contemplated ships were never built, has now become a common starting-point for official and non-official declaimers. Something even is known of the ingenious contrivances by which the effective power of a given expenditure was reduced to its minimum value. The official moral, of course, is the immense superiority of the Board for the time being over its negligent predecessors; while the inference which the public have drawn from these disclosures is that no Board of Admiralty is to be relied on for an instant when the vigilance of the nation is lulled to sleep. And yet, while one article of faith has been so rudely destroyed, we have been learning to hug a new belief which may come to have as little foundation as our late imagination that the British navy retained its old numerical superiority over the fleets of Europe.

It is certainly comfortable to think, as most Englishmen do, that if we have not got the ships we want, we can at all events build them ten times as fast as any of our rivals. Such a statement would scarcely be an exaggeration of the relative constructive power of England and all other European countries combined. Our commercial navy grows with a vigour and rapidity which illustrate the real mechanical power which is at the command of England. But it seems to have been studiously forgotten that in the appliances for the creation of a war fleet our Government is almost as much behind that of the Emperor NAPOLEON as our private building yards are superior in extent and efficiency to those of France. If the aid of private enterprise were called in, we could build many more ships of war in a single year than France could turn out in three or four. But this does not apply to vessels of the largest class, which only a few of the most important establishments would be able to undertake. Second class frigates, sloops, and gun-boats might be produced in any number on the contract system, but the great monsters of the navy must for the most part be constructed in the Royal dockyards.

A comparison of the extent and appliances of the naval yards of England and France will therefore give a tolerably fair measure of the creative power which each country could, on short notice, bring to bear upon the increase of line-of-battle fleets. It is notorious that the accommodation available in our six great yards is not sufficient even for the moderate activity which has been of late displayed. It is quite a common-form paragraph in the naval intelligence, that the commencement of some new ship has been delayed until a slip shall be set free by the launch or removal of an earlier occupant. Very often a paltry little sloop occupies for months or years the room which would suffice for the construction of a three-decker. Lately, all the available space in the dockyards has been filled with the fleet of small vessels fitting or repairing for the China expedition. Comparatively little has been done in the weightier matters of naval construction. With the exception of the recent launch of the *Victoria*, one can scarcely remember the addition of a single first-rate to the navy—and this at a time when there is really a vast amount of bustle in the yards, and a great profession of zeal and activity. The official explanation to any curious inquirer would probably be that there really is not a slip on which a new keel can be laid down. For once the answer would be strictly accurate. The want of building room has been cramping the operations of the dockyards for years, and yet it seems never to occur to the Board that if more ground is wanted it ought to be obtained, and that nothing would be easier than to construct a considerable number of additional slips. There is only one argument which ever penetrates the coat of mail which is part of the regular panoply of Lords of the Admiralty. The Board has learned to wince at the suggestion that they do things better in France. But for this we should have gone on in our old courses till the navy had dwindled down to a score of ships; and perhaps it may be of some service now to call attention to the fact that France has about twice as many building slips as can be found in all the English yards put together.

It was duly reported almost a year ago by an Admiralty Com-

mittee that France possessed 76 slips, including three in course of construction, while England had but 44, and was doing nothing to obtain any further dockyard accommodation. The aggregate area of the English dockyards was, in January last, nominally equal to that of the Imperial establishments; but one-third of our space consisted of St. Mary's Island at Chatham, of which no use is made. The efficient area appropriated for naval ship-building was therefore only about two-thirds of the extent of the French yards; but so far from anything having been done to reduce the disparity, it is France and not England that is adding to the already gigantic establishments which she possesses. Toulon has just been enlarged to double its former area, while Portsmouth and Chatham remain untouched, and Woolwich is unable to find space for the factories of every kind which are crowded within its walls. At this moment, the pet object of activity—the Armstrong gun—is turned out only by twos and threes. The army and navy of France are almost completely supplied with rifled ordnance, while we have not enough for the little force of artillery under orders for China; and the two pieces which have been shipped, as an experiment, on board the *Wrangler*, are, we believe, the only Armstrong guns which are yet at sea. It is strange that even in constructive power England, when represented by official administrators, is altogether distanced by countries which have not a tenth part of our natural advantages and acquired skill. If the Naval Reserve scheme should happily succeed, we shall be able to man many more ships than we now possess. No one knows how soon they may be wanted; and if more ground is not prepared at once with slips, and factories, and docks, we shall find, not only that we have lee-way to make up, but that we are dropping further and further astern in a race which it is in our power to win whenever we choose to exert our strength. Whether it would be more economical to extend the present dockyards or to build new ones may be doubtful. Pembroke is the only one of the existing yards which fulfils the primary condition of being perfectly defensible. It has the further recommendation of being capable of almost an indefinite extension. But even if an enlargement of its area should be open to some undiscovered objection, there is space enough to be had at Birkenhead and other ports for all the possible requirements of the British navy. The most essential matter is to obtain some additional building facilities without waiting until an entirely new establishment can be organized. For this purpose, besides the available land at Chatham, and Pembroke, and some other yards, there is even in the crowded yard at Portsmouth a considerable extent of sea frontage which might be occupied by slips, and which is now covered with buildings that could be placed with equal advantage on any other portion of the Government area. By merely using and economising the space already at their command, the Admiralty might perhaps find room for as many building slips as could be advantageously used; but whether this be so or not, the want of accommodation which is impeding our shipbuilding progress ought by some means or other to be promptly supplied. The time may come when the deficiency of our appliances for building may destroy our last chance of recovering our old position on the seas. There has been trifling and delay enough in the preparation of vessels and the organization of a reserve. It would be consistent with all past experience if the extension of the dockyard appliances were left, like every thing else, to be thought of only when it is almost too late. We do not know how far subjects of this kind fall within the scope of the inquiry entrusted to the Defence Commission, but it is a matter of vital importance that the vast and increasing superiority which France possesses in this respect should be balanced by efforts on our side which will enable us to apply, if need be, the whole shipbuilding strength of the country to the construction of any class of ships which may be suddenly required.

Let us add that there is one important reform in the navy which will become more urgent in proportion as we obtain increased facilities for building ships, and frame improved regulations for manning them. Why should not the question of flogging be dealt with by the naval authorities in the same wise and just spirit in which it has been treated by the Horse Guards? We believe that the adoption of such a measure would go far to diminish the difficulty of manning our ships, and we trust that no time will be lost by the Admiralty in promulgating an order on the subject, extending to the sailor the same conditional immunity from a disgraceful punishment which has been conceded to the soldier.

THE ALL SOULS' CASE.

THE Archbishop of CANTERBURY seems to have a very gentlemanlike notion of the duties of a judge. He appears to think they consist in asking that one of the suitors who is of the highest quality what decision would be most agreeable to him, and deciding accordingly. As he did in the POOLE case, so he has done in the All Souls' case. The consequence is that the mandamuses begin to stick rather thick in him. But great allowance must be made for an Archbishop called upon to perform the alien functions of a judge. It has long been plain that the judicial functions of Visitors of Colleges ought to be separated from their other functions and vested in a regular legal tribunal, which shall give its judgments uniformly, with due regard for precedent, and in open court. The want of such a tribunal is a deficiency in the Oxford and Cambridge Reform Acts which cannot be too soon supplied.

All Souls' College, the subject of the present litigation, was intended by CHICHELE, its founder, for the "poor and indigent" scholars who swarmed in the mediæval universities, and whom some cultivators of the past have proposed artificially to reproduce. CHICHELE himself had risen from that class, according to the received tradition which makes him the son of a tailor. It was therefore a singular destiny for his foundation to become, as it ultimately did, an academical club for an exclusively aristocratic clique. How it became so, it would be very difficult to say, and not very profitable to inquire. It would be equally difficult and equally unprofitable to determine what amount of blame attached to this particular malversation at a period when all Oxford was one vast abuse. But the time came when Oxford was to awake to her duty to the nation, and when the nation was to become sensible of the duties of Oxford to itself. It then fell to the lot of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry to address a question to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' as to the principle on which the elections to their Fellowships were conducted. Paper, it has been said, does not blush. The paper did not blush which conveyed to the Commissioners the answer of the Warden and Fellows that their elections were determined by merit. It is true, this statement was made with a good deal of preamble and explanation, and even with a plaintive plea for an indulgent estimate of the modicum of fact on which it was based. But this, while it detracted somewhat from the straightforwardness of the allegation, did not add much to its veracity. To the qualification of family not the faintest allusion was made, though its paramount influence in the elections was glaringly attested by a list of fellows blazing with honorables and other aristocratic names.

The Parliamentary Commissioners who succeeded to the Commissioners of Inquiry endeavoured to restore the public usefulness of the College by devoting its fellowships to the encouragement of the studies of jurisprudence and modern history, lately introduced into the University. We cannot say that their scheme appears to us an eminently happy one, more especially as it turns to no account the beautiful buildings of the College, and its noble library, which are perhaps the most valuable part of the endowment. That palace of learning, as it might be, remains as empty and as useless as ever. However, the scheme was perhaps the best the Commissioners could get the College to accept; and it was certainly an improvement on what had gone before. It is evident that the Warden and Fellows are now endeavouring to wriggle out of the restriction imposed on them by this scheme, and to creep back as much as possible to the old system of election. They are very anxious, it seems—they above all the Colleges of Oxford—that great weight should be given in elections to the qualifications of moral character and religion, with which they seem to think industry injuriously interferes. They have devised a strange machinery, in itself sufficient evidence of some unusual object, for placing the examination in the hands of a committee; and they seem disposed to insist strongly on the duty of secrecy as to what passes in College meetings preliminary to elections. Secrecy as to what passes in such meetings ought no doubt to be generally observed as a matter of delicacy; but delicacy must give way to justice.

It is not difficult to feel a certain sympathy with any idea of duty, however retrograde and perverse. But it is impossible to feel sympathy with those who are merely struggling to use as patronage that which they are bound to use as a trust. All Souls, under the regime which its Warden and Fellows seem to be endeavouring to

restore, was not only a negative but a positive evil to the University. It was not only that a great foundation was withdrawn from the purposes of learning—it was that industry was dishonoured, and ignorance, if united with high connexions and popular manners, was encouraged by the mode in which the elections to these fellowships were conducted. The influence of social prestige, always but too powerful, was thrown into the scale against the influence, always too weak, of academical merit. It would be a great injury to Oxford generally, and especially to the particular class of students most favoured, if this state of things should be restored. Young gentlemen of good family connexions seldom need an artificial stimulus to cultivate social popularity; but they not seldom need an artificial stimulus to make them face the steep ascent of industry and honour. Every other college in the University has carried out in good faith the ordinances of the Commissioners, however little it may have relished them at first. Not a murmur of complaint, we believe, has been heard, even from the most zealous reformers, on this head. The members of All Souls alone seem to think that their social position will bear them out in taking a different course. Fortunately for the public, they are not all of one mind. A resolute resistance has been made by three of the Junior Fellows, who will probably be regarded by their College as disturbers of its harmony, but who are really contending for the dignity and independence of all foundations as well as for the purity of their own. Endowments are inherently liable to abuse, and if they are not preserved from it by the integrity and energy of the more public-spirited among their own members, they will have, as the only alternative, to be preserved from it by the constant supervision and frequent intervention of the State.

THE MODEL MEMBER.

WITHOUT the least desire to encourage a member so complacent as Mr. WILLIAMS, we are bound in justice to admit that he is in some sort a representative man. The Reform Bill of 1832 introduced into the House of Commons, among many better things, an element of vulgar suspicion, of which, not forgetting the claims of other metropolitan members, we must acknowledge that gentleman to be the chief exponent. It is a great thing for a representative to be thoroughly in accord with the sentiments of his constituents, and Mr. WILLIAMS' ideal of a member of Parliament seems to harmonise beautifully with the theories of the men of Lambeth. The conception is not a lofty one. Everybody is to suspect everybody else. Mr. WILLIAMS invites his constituents "to look pretty sharply after him," and promises, in his turn, "to look sharply after Lord PALMERSTON, for 'this is the way to make men honest and make them discharge their duty.'" There was an air of candour and fairness about this suggestion which must have greatly endeared the model metropolitan member to his constituents. But there was perhaps a tinge of craft in it, notwithstanding. Suspicion would but bring out into higher relief the virtues of the immaculate senator who had attended the House of Commons throughout the whole of last session, without the omission of a single day or night, and who had taken part in every question of the least importance which had come before the House. Poor Lord PALMERSTON had small chance of getting so triumphantly through his ordeal, and it was a great victory for the representative of Lambeth to have extracted from the PREMIER the jocular confession that he had not mastered the details of seven volumes of estimates before bringing them under the attention of the House. Lord PALMERSTON evidently did not recognise the solemn duty of universal suspicion. He stood convicted of placing some confidence in his subordinates, and was forced to plead guilty to having taken their estimates on trust. Mr. WILLIAMS' lofty theory of check and countercheck starts from the assumption that all men, and especially all officials, are rogues, who can only be "kept honest" by the detective vigilance of metropolitan members. To have faith in any one is the highest crime of which a Minister, a member, or a constituency can be guilty, and even a WILLIAMS is the better for being jealously watched by suspicious ten-pounders.

It is an unfortunate objection to this theory that, if it were really founded on truth, representative government would be an impossibility. If every member were a WILLIAMS, impressed with the solemn duty of taking part in every discussion, the House of Commons would find it difficult to get through its work. If no vote were to be taken

until not only the Prime Minister but each individual M.P. had satisfied himself that the figures were exactly what they ought to be, it would certainly take ten years' hard labour to get through the estimates of one. With a happy unconsciousness of the logical consequences of his own arguments, Mr. WILLIAMS had no sooner propounded his theory than he proceeded to demolish it by proving its utter absurdity. He told his admiring constituents that the last session, though short, had been very laborious; that the House invariably sat till midnight; that there had been a great deal of what was called discussion, and that almost the whole time had been occupied in passing the estimates in the perfunctory manner which excited the virtuous indignation of the member for Lambeth. Even on Mr. WILLIAMS' own showing, it is a most fortunate circumstance that the House of Commons is not filled with members of consciences so sensitive as his. If the same high ideal of duty were embraced by all—if each M.P. felt bound to examine every figure of the estimates and take part in every discussion upon them—virtue and honesty might triumph at Westminster, but the administration of the country would come to a dead lock. There would be no army and no navy—not because the want of them was questioned, but because the House would not have time to settle each item itself, and could not trust any one else to do the work for it. As for the multitudinous Civil-Service estimates, it would be vain to attempt to pass a single vote. No salary could be adjusted until every member had inquired into the precise amount of the duties to be performed, and ascertained that they were in exact proportion to the remuneration offered. There have been times when popular assemblies have carried this principle of distrust so far as to insist on performing every detail of administration for themselves; and the result has always been to destroy representative government altogether. The Assembly which governed France during the earlier period of the great Revolution was as deeply impressed with the theory of suspicion as Mr. WILLIAMS himself could desire. But even they were compelled to delegate administrative functions which they could not perform themselves. They entrusted to committees the executive duties which they would not allow a regular Government to undertake, and the inevitable consequence was not merely the failure of the whole scheme, but the speedy discredit and destruction of representative government and national liberty.

There is too much common sense in England to allow the House of Commons to become imbued with the miserable spirit of distrust which has destroyed all attempts at popular government in almost every other country where the experiment has been tried. But the section of which Mr. WILLIAMS is the most prominent specimen is not unlikely to gain numerical strength after the passing of another Reform Bill, and though it will probably always remain an insignificant minority, its power of impeding the business and lowering the character of the House is unfortunately out of all proportion to its numbers or influence. A score of WILLIAMSES, resolved to scrutinize everything and to join in every discussion, might very easily waste half the time of a session already too short for the real duties which each year demands from the Legislature. The truth is, that instead of meddling more and more in minute details, the only chance of getting the work of the country done will be for the House of Commons to restrict itself with increasing rigour to the settlement of the leading principles of legislation and administration, leaving it to the Executive to carry into effect the will which Parliament may express. Perhaps the example most favourable to Mr. WILLIAMS' theory is that of the Navy Estimates. It is unfortunately only too certain that enormous waste has been going on for many years in the Royal Dockyards. If Mr. WILLIAMS had had his way, each item of the estimates would have been dissected in Committee and discussed at length in the House. Meanwhile, no votes would have been taken, and no work could have gone on. After some months of fruitless talk, of which a large percentage would probably have been contributed by the member for Lambeth, the House would have discovered the utter impracticability of the task which it had commenced, and would have been compelled to pass the remaining votes without any inquiry at all. By keeping within its legitimate province, and having some regard to the limits of possibility, the House has already done something to check the evil complained of, and may, if it perseveres in the same practical course, eventually reform the whole system of Admiralty expenditure. The

only possible way of securing economy in any department is by making the Executive reform itself. The pressure of the House of Commons, if steadily exerted, will generally be found sufficient to do this. It has succeeded in stimulating inquiry within the Admiralty, the most incorrigible of all departments. It has extracted by means of official committees information which it could never have obtained by the most laborious scrutiny of every vote. It remains for the House to insist on the reform of the abuses which are already admitted; and if it does so with determination, it will effect a saving of millions where the peddling interference of Mr. WILLIAMS and his friends would have failed to expose a single shortcoming, or to reduce the expenditure by a single shilling.

It is doubtless a respectable constitutional maxim that the House of Commons is the guardian of the public purse; but its duties have become far too extensive to be performed by a direct supervision of every item, and at the same time the danger of wilful extravagance on the part of Ministers is very largely reduced. In practice, it is the Chancellor of the Exchequer who controls the profuseness of the House, instead of the House watching the extravagance of the Ministry. The chief security against excessive expenditure is furnished by the impatience of taxation which is apt to endanger the popularity and existence of a Cabinet. No one has so strong an interest as a Prime Minister in keeping down expenses which undermine his political strength. It is by making a fulcrum of this feeling, and thus forcing the administration to work out its own reform, that the influence of Parliament can best be exerted in favour of economy, and not by perpetually meddling with minute details which would be found numerous and complicated enough to baffle the most jealous investigations of an assembly every man of which should be as suspicious and as laborious as Mr. WILLIAMS himself.

NON-INTERVENTION.

MR. MILL has written a few pages in *Fraser's Magazine* for this month to warn his countrymen not to do injustice to themselves and their real feelings and purpose by the manner in which they speak of non-intervention. We get very little credit given us on the Continent for our honest wish not to interfere with our neighbours. The vast majority of foreigners think that every step taken by England, even when she makes the most conspicuous sacrifices, is dictated by a selfish wish for aggrandizement. The greater is our apparent disinterestedness, the profounder is the cunning which must lie at the bottom of our schemes. To us who know our own minds, this is simply absurd. We wish for no man's land—we have enough of everything we want, and only desire to be left alone. But no European nation believes this; and we must all agree with Mr. Mill that it is a misfortune this should be so. In the first place, we have not the satisfaction of setting a good example. We cannot induce other people to do as we do, unless they think we do it; and we also suffer from the jealousy which the apprehension of our base intrigues so widely engenders. For the sake of mankind, and for our own sakes, we ought, therefore, to be careful not to give any colour to the very mistaken views of English policy which are entertained abroad. But, in Mr. Mill's opinion, there are points in which we do needless injustice to ourselves, and he adduces the instances of the Suez Canal and of the language which has lately been widely used in England with regard to intervention in Italy.

It is undoubtedly true that M. de Lesseps has not yet obtained the consent of the Sultan to the construction of his canal, and it is also true that Lord Palmerston once made an unlucky speech, in which he expressed an opinion that it was not for the interest of England that the canal should be made. Practically, this speech was very unfortunate, for M. de Lesseps got his capital subscribed chiefly because the subscribers thought that England would somehow be annoyed and humiliated by the canal; and although it does not make much difference whether the canal shares are or are not taken up, it is by no means immaterial that an occasion should be thus given to stir up the animosity of the small capitalists and provincial proprietors of France against this country. Theoretically, also, what Mr. Mill says on the subject is undeniable, and it is not our business to interfere with a work by which, if it were successful, mankind at large would be benefited. Mr. Mill does not think his countrymen generally are to blame in the matter, except so far as they permit Lord Palmerston to do what he pleases in giving effect to his speech. But we do not see that from the state of facts known to the public it can be fairly assumed that the failure of M. de Lesseps to obtain the Sultan's consent is entirely attributable to Lord Palmerston's opposition. Since Lord Palmerston made the speech alluded to he has been out of office for a year, and he then had no more power than Mr. Mill himself to control the Sultan. For the last half-year he has had, as principal members of his Cabinet, Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone, both of whom protested against

Lord Palmerston's speech, and disowned any wish to frustrate the scheme on the ground that it might subserve the ambitious designs of France. In spite of all these changes, however, M. de Lesseps is still knocking at the door of the Sultan, and his knocking hitherto does not appear to have produced much effect.

Mr. Mill also thinks we are wrong in the way we have talked about Italy. We have most of us, he says, stated that we would have nothing to do with the Italian war, because no English interest was at stake; and this seems to imply that we should be ready to intervene in Italian affairs if our interests demanded it—that mere selfishness determines our policy—and that we act, not according to our sympathies or convictions of right, but only as we think will bring us some substantial gain. It would, of course, be desirable that, when English statesmen address English audiences, foreign readers should understand exactly the circumstances in which the speech was made, should comprehend what was tacitly omitted as known to all those actually present, and should perceive the precise meaning which the speaker wished to attach to particular expressions. But it is hardly possible that English speakers should keep foreign critics before their mind. Englishmen knew what was meant by saying that we would not intervene because no English interest was at stake. It meant that as, under the circumstances of the war, we thought we could do no possible good by intervening, so we were not compelled to intervene by having any imperilled interest to defend. Foreigners may naturally have mistaken this, and we regret the mistake; but we cannot help expressing a feeling little short of despair when we try to consider how foreigners can be made to do complete justice to us. For if they had but finished reading the speeches in which the misinterpreted expressions occurred, they would have found, in nine cases out of ten, that the speaker went on to express a strong belief that intervention in foreign affairs could never confer on England any positive material gain.

But it may, in certain circumstances, be the duty of England to intervene in Continental affairs, and she ought not to turn aside from her duty, and ask what gain she can look for by performing it. As an abstract principle, we quite admit this, but the difficulty is to apply it. In what cases ought we to consider ourselves at liberty to intervene, and in what cases ought we to consider ourselves bound to intervene? Mr. Mill discusses this most important point, and so far as his remarks go they are characterized by the clearness, justice, and admirable sense which always attend his writings. He points out that we cannot be bound to intervene between a people and its Government, because a liberty obtained by foreigners would be of no use to the persons liberated, and would have no chance of lasting. It is only when foreigners are seeking to impose a Government on a reluctant people that we ought to intervene. Apparently Mr. Mill does not think that intervention is, except in very exceptional cases, justifiable on the ground that those who claim to rule the country are foreigners. We were not bound, for instance, to help Hungary or Lombardy against Austria. We are bound to intervene only when a nation would be free if it were not that a foreign nation, not itself claiming rightful authority of Government, intervenes to back up a particular Government in a weak State. We are then bound to intervene to prevent the intervention of others. For example, when Russia intervened to crush Hungary, England was bound to intervene to protect Hungary.

Unfortunately this principle must be taken with very important practical qualifications. Mr. Mill points out one. In order to be bound to intervene, it must be tolerably certain that we have a fair chance of making our intervention effectual. He admits that England could not have effectually intervened in favour of Hungary. But England and France might have united to intervene. Here, however, we come across a great practical difficulty, for we are not to intervene unless we can get the assistance of a nation under very different circumstances from ourselves, with totally different political ideas and views of moral obligation. To apply this to the circumstances of the present crisis. If Austria were to propose to intervene in Central Italy, we might legitimately interfere to prevent her; but France would be able to do this without us, and if we joined France, we should unite ourselves to a Power which upholds the interests of Italy in a very peculiar way. If it were France that was proposing to intervene, we should then have to consider whether we were strong enough to prevent her; and we might very reasonably think that an insular power could not cope with a near neighbour of Italy, having full power to march as many soldiers over the Alps as she pleases, and abundance of soldiers to send there. Mr. Mill wishes us to proclaim that the first Power that intervenes by force in Italy is our enemy. We fear that this sounds as if it meant more than it did. It only means that, if Austria intervened, we should do, as humble appendages to the French, what the French could do perfectly well without us, and that, if the French intervened, prudence would forbid our carrying the general rule into practice. Surely it is much better to give out at once that we see no prospect of intervening to any good purpose in the affairs of Italy. As Mr. Mill is a man whose words carry great weight with his countrymen, it may be very right that he should warn us not to let the circumstances of this particular case draw us into an abnegation of the general principle that a strong free Power has duties to perform in behalf of other nations. Perhaps this duty has been a

little slurred over lately, and therefore we may receive patiently and gratefully the correction which Mr. Mill administers to us, although we cannot see that at this particular crisis the most correct view of the general duty of intervention could induce us to make the least variation in our policy with regard to Italy.

THE UNPROTECTED MALE.

THE age of chivalry has departed, chiefly because there is no longer place in society for name or thing. There is nobody to protect the women because the women no longer need protection. They traverse Norwegian fiords and dahls in what our Atlantic cousins would call cherry-coloured pants. They frisk off to India on the spree, and publish a diary which would not discredit the pages of "Fast Life." They rival the coarser sex, not only at the cover side, but in November pheasant shooting; and the rod and rifle attest their capacity, not only to take care of themselves, but to vindicate their title to lordship of the creation in its most tangible state of conquest. A female branch of the Alpine Club must be in process of organization under the intrepid presidentship of the lady who has toured round Mount Rosa; and Miss Parkes and her friends will find their theories anticipated by facts in the perfect capabilities of the extant British female to hold her own—and something more than what is generally thought to be her own—in the rivalry with that which has lost its claim to be the nobler or the stronger sex. In this state of things there is one British institution which strikes us as being remarkably out of date. It is that mysterious car which is to be found in most railway carriages, called the Ladies' Carriage. This carriage has always seemed to us the most awful, as it now seems to be the most useless, of mysteries. The case of the Rev. Mr. Maguire, and the revelations connected with it, must impress upon all Boards of Directors the necessity of organizing a set of Gentlemen's Carriages. If the privilege is to be reserved to the ladies of secluding themselves in a locomotive Gynocœum, the men in self-defence must get up carriages as unapproachable to the female as Mount Athos or the island of Saint Senanus.

Nec te, nec ullam aliam,
Admittemus in cameram

must be inscribed in the gentlemen's compartment of the South-Western railway. We enter a plea for the unprotected male. If all that we hear is true, the sexes must be kept as sternly apart as they are in the Oriental Churches. Commenting on Mr. Maguire's case, a correspondent of one of the penny papers details certain advances made to him—ending, however, like Mr. Maguire's misadventure, in a thrashing—which must make many timid travellers suspicious, not only for their chastity, but their personal safety, in a railway carriage. If you are an unprotected male, avoid the unprotected female. The caution, we admit, is necessary both ways. Mr. Jacob French and Miss Astell present a curious pendant to the Rev. Robert Maguire and Miss Louisa Lettington.

To treat the matter, however, with all seriousness, we should be very sorry if either of these cases were to be considered typical. It would be a matter of grave social consequence were it to become generally suspected that it is impossible for respectable persons of either sex to travel without a companion. Much of the undeniable purity and security of English life is grounded upon the conviction that we are, as a rule, tolerably safe when unprotected. English girls take long country walks, and even go shopping and calling in towns, safe, as a rule, from insult, while cases of actual violence are almost unknown; and on the other hand, though unfounded charges of soliciting female chastity are not altogether unknown, and are frightfully difficult of disproof, yet their comparative rarity is quite enough to encourage the general feeling of security between the sexes. A prevalent sense of insecurity and suspicion, such as would make our social state intolerable, would be the result of an impression that such cases as those we have alluded to were other than entirely exceptional. We fully believe that, generally speaking, our English ladies are as safe as the damsel who wore the robes so rich and rare, and whose maiden smile lit her in safety around the green isle, and Sir Galahad himself would be tolerably safe even in a third-class carriage on the Clapham Railway. That such cases are possible should make everybody cautious; but caution must not degenerate into universal suspicion. As a matter of prudence, we should perhaps dissuade either man or woman from travelling with a solitary stranger if it can be avoided. But it is better, under such circumstances, not to dwell on the Maguire or French instances—and for this reason. The feeling of danger on a woman's part when travelling in a railway carriage is apt in itself to degenerate into something like hysteria. Suspicious and nervous, a woman may, without any sinister motive, so dwell on the possibility of insult that she may actually fancy the evil which she conjures up, and, under the influence of a morbid and excited temperament, may make charges as unfounded as that under which Mr. Maguire has suffered. This may be the apology for Miss Lettington. Something of this sort must be at the bottom of the Maguire case; for it is impossible to suppose that gentleman guilty, after the investigation at the police-court.

Still, the case is a very remarkable one on other grounds. Mr. Maguire, as he is reported in the newspapers, thought proper to disclaim in the most solemn way and place, and under the most awful sanctions, not only the charge made against him, but certain particulars and matters of fact which were sworn to

under oath. The witnesses, as the newspapers report the case, swore positively to these words, on Mr. Maguire's part:—"Don't press the charge, for if you do, I'll be a ruined man for life. Don't press the charge for the sake of my wife and family. Will you call on me to-morrow? Will you say at what time? I will stay at home all day for you. My wife may be there also, in order that she may plead for me." "He said that he would give anything if the charge were not proceeded with." This is Mr. Surridge's evidence—the evidence of a Regent-street tradesman. One Mr. Evans swears—"He [Mr. Maguire] said he would give as much as 100*l.* He said, 'I am entirely at your mercy. If you carry the case any further I'm a ruined man—my worldly prospects are ruined for life.'" On Sunday last, Mr. Maguire is reported in his sermon to have "denied that he ever offered 100*l.* to the parties accusing him. He did not offer them a penny. Another false statement was that he had asked them to his house, that his wife and family might intercede for him." If this be so, undoubtedly Mr. Maguire ought to indict Mr. Surridge and Mr. Evans for perjury. For all that really told against Mr. Maguire at all was this offer to compromise, and this appeal on behalf of his wife and family. The witnesses against him, not excluding Miss Louisa Lettington, were suspicious enough; and though Mr. Maguire's treatment of the charge was not that of a very strong-minded or self-possessed person, all sorts of allowances—apart from the alleged offer of the 100*l.*—may reasonably be made for the agitation and confusion incidental to such a charge. Still, the evidence upon oath is evidence upon oath; and if, as Mr. Maguire so strongly asserts, it is false and malicious, he is, we think, bound in justice to himself and to the Church, to prosecute the matter further.

The case presents a warning under another aspect. It is, we know, easy enough to say in this place what ought to be done in the event of such a charge. But to look at this sort of thing at one's desk, and to confront it suddenly and unexpectedly, are very different things. We make every allowance for fright and nervousness. But what is the use of a public education and of a public position unless it fits a man for acting with vigour and common-sense in such an emergency? Mr. Maguire is a public person. His birth and antecedents, we should have thought, were just those best calculated to secure that self-possession in which he has proved himself to be so lamentably deficient. The world, as the fact came out in this investigation, treats him as a notable; an illustrated newspaper has given us his photographic portrait and a biography which looks very like an autobiography. An Irish clergyman, whose whole life has been given to the most exciting controversy, familiar with the platform and the pulpit, and with faculties sharpened by polemical encounters in many a tough theological fight, accustomed every Sunday to say his say to crowds of people—this is Mr. Maguire. If a large parish and a large congregation, and the habit of saying everything strong and piquant on the spur of a moment, do not fit a man for the sudden emergencies of life, and do not furnish him with sufficient self-reliance and self-possession to meet such a contemptible charge as this, such training is good for little. And it is good for little. The habit of holding intercourse with sympathizers alone, often ignorant and prejudiced, unfits the mind for wrestling with real moral difficulties. The pulpit, and above all the popular pulpit and the popular platform, weakens the mental fibre. If Mr. Maguire presents a warning, we have happily not forgotten an example for dealing with such an accusation. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer once had to meet a charge curiously parallel to the present case. To compare Mr. Maguire with Mr. Gladstone would be absurd enough; but what we desire to remark is the different results of different training. It is quite enough to call attention to the way in which the charge was met and the accuser prosecuted by Mr. Gladstone, and the course adopted by Mr. Maguire. While calmness, self-possession, and resolute sifting of the whole matter, and a firm pursuit of the assailant marked the one case, undignified paltry appeals to partisans, and an unjudicial exculpation are the only results of the other.

ANTECEDENTS OF REVIVALISM.

WE have before intimated the opinion that the best antidote against the contagion of Revivalism is to be found in the knowledge that it is no unique phenomenon. We use the term "revivalism" to designate the systematic propagation in an epidemic form of that which, in its spontaneous action on the individual conscience, may be an inestimable blessing. We believe that, in proportion as the spirit of conversion, disdaining the privacy of the individual heart and the sphere of moral agency, clamours for victories over masses of men and the sanction of physical manifestations, it forfeits its reality, and assimilates itself to the popular hallucinations of darker ages. It has long been known that between the domain of the passions and that of the higher and calmer religious sentiments there lies a perilous region, open to all the winds that blow, and peculiarly liable to those sudden gusts which arise out of tumultuous sympathy. The physician treads lightly over this delicate ground; the good sense of mankind guards it with a wise reserve; the ministers of religion alone claim the right to lay open its arcanes for the public edification, and to loose, in the name of the Deity, its wild and mysterious forces. With those who have confi-

dently asked, and believe they have obtained, signs from Heaven, and hail the Irish Revival as the outpouring of the Spirit predicted for the latter days, it is indeed vain to argue. Happily, there are many persons of deep but unostentatious piety who remember the Apostolical maxim to "try the spirits," and will not repudiate any light that may be thrown on the present movement by the history of moral epidemics.

Protestantism has never yet rivalled Catholicism in its power of inspiring sudden and wholesale devotion. The sweeping triumphs of Latin Christianity over the barbarian conquerors are still unparalleled, or paralleled only by the success of Xavier and his followers. Pilgrimage was the expression of an intense and universal religious impulse; and it may well be doubted whether the favourite spiritual leaders of modern times could extort so laborious a pledge of sincerity from their disciples. The audiences of Peter the Hermit and Bernard thrilled with a more overwhelming flood of emotion than the Ulster prayer-meetings. The cry of "God wills it" that burst from the great Council of Clermont sank deeper into the heart of Christendom than the groans which filled the Town Hall at Coleraine. The annals of the middle ages are full of passionate ebullitions of religious enthusiasm, sometimes coloured by political feelings, but invariably accompanied by the two characteristic symptoms of the present movement—affections of the nervous system, and a temporary reformation of life and manners. In the tenth century, when the conviction that the end of all things was at hand assumed a definiteness never since equalled, such phenomena were frequent. They recurred during the exciting epoch of the Crusades, and we suspect that the camp of Walter the Penniless was fertile in scenes wilder than those which Mrs. Stowe has rendered famous. Again, during the memorable years of tribulation which preceded and followed the Black Death, the spasmodic element became dominant in the religion of the day, and vented itself in three extraordinary outbreaks within the fourteenth century. Of the same nature were the panics that led to so many massacres of the Jews, and the wild popular suspicions that proved the ruin of the Templars. The Reformation cleared the atmosphere for a time; not, however, without leaving the germs of new religious disorders, belonging to a different type, and corresponding to the more spiritual character of the Reformed doctrines.

We think it worth while to quote from Dr. Milman a paragraph descriptive of the Flagellant movement:—

The present outburst was not the effect of popular preaching, of the eloquence of one or more vehement and ardent men working on the passions and the fears of a vast auditory. It seemed as if mankind, at least Italian mankind, was struck at once with a sudden paroxysm of remorse for the monstrous guilt of the age, which found vent in this wild but hallowed form of self-torture. All ranks, both sexes, all ages were possessed with the madness—nobles, wealthy merchants, modest women, even children of five years old. They stripped themselves naked to the waist, covered their faces, that they might not be known, and went two and two in solemn, slow procession, with a cross and a banner before them, scourging themselves till the blood tracked their steps, and shrieking out their doleful psalms. They travelled from city to city. Whenever they entered a city the contagion seized all predisposed minds. This was done by night as by day. Not only were the busy mart and crowded street disturbed by these processions; in the dead midnight they were seen with their tapers and torches gleaming before them in their awful and shadowy grandeur, with the lashing sound of the scourge and the screaming chant. Thirty-three days and a half—the number of the years of the Lord's sad sojourn in this world of man—was the usual period for the penance of each. In the burning heat of summer, when the wintry roads were deep in snow, they still went on. Thousands, thousands, tens of thousands joined the ranks, till at length the madness wore itself out. Some princes and magistrates, finding that it was not sanctioned by the Roman See or by the authority of any great saint, began to interpose; that which had been the object of general respect, became almost as rapidly the object of general contempt.

If the contagious zeal of the Flagellants equalled the greatest marvels of Revivalism, the Dancing mania of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries perhaps surpassed it in physical derangements. We learn from Hecker, the historian of mediæval epidemics, that—

Assemblages of men and women formed circles, hand in hand, and appearing to have lost all control over their senses, continued dancing, regardless of the bystanders, for hours together in wild delirium, until at length they fell to the ground in a state of exhaustion. They then complained of extreme oppression, and groaned as in the agonies of death. . . . While dancing they neither saw nor heard, being insensible to external impressions through the senses, but were haunted by visions, their fancies conjuring up spirits whose names they shrieked out; and some of them afterwards asserted that they felt as if they had been immersed in a stream of blood, which obliged them to leap so high.

Other symptoms are enumerated, altogether similar to those with which we are now unhappily familiar. Sympathy, and the morbid craving to be affected like others, did their work, and "this disgusting spasmodic disease" was erected into a permanent malady.

Let us now turn to the recent descriptions of those who are "struck," as recorded in the pages of a weekly journal called the *Revival*, now lying before us:—

A young woman lay extended at full length—her eyes closed, her hands clasped and elevated, and her body curved in a spasm so violent that it appeared to rest, arch-like, upon her heels and the back portion of her head. In that position she lay without speech or motion for several minutes. Suddenly she uttered a terrific scream, and tore handfuls of hair from her uncovered head. Extending her open hands in a repelling attitude of the most appalling horror, she exclaimed, "Oh, that fearful pit! Lord Jesus, save me! I am a sinner, a most unworthy sinner—but, oh Lord, take him away, take him away!" "Oh Christ come, come quickly!" "Oh Saviour of sinners, remove him from my sight!" During this paroxysm three strong

men were hardly able to restrain her. She extended her arms on either side, clutching spasmodically at the grass, shuddering with terror, and shrinking from some fearful vision of the inward sight; but she ultimately fell back exhausted, nerveless, and apparently insensible.

The readers of *Faust* will remember the agonies of Marguerite in the prison scene; others will be tempted to recall the medical evidence on Palmer's trial; but the student of history will think of the ecstasies of St. John's dancers, and the convulsions of Tarantism.

Nor is this an isolated instance. Mr. Moore, of Ballymena, has furnished us with a graphic summary of the pathology of Revivalism; and we are bound to say that each successive number of the *Revival* contains new illustrations of its truth:—

When the conviction as to its mental process reaches the crisis, the person through weakness, is unable to sit or stand, and either kneels or lies down. A great number of convicts (*sic*) in this town and neighbourhood, and now, I believe, in all directions in the North, where the Revival prevails, are "mitten down" as suddenly, and they fall as nerveless, and paralyzed, and powerless, as if killed instantly: they fall with a deep groan—some with a wild cry of horror—the greater number with the intensely earnest plea, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on my soul." The whole frame trembles like an aspen-leaf, an intolerable weight is felt upon the chest, a choking sensation is experienced, and relief from this is found only in the loud, urgent prayer for deliverance. Usually the bodily distress and mental anguish continue till some degree of confidence in Christ is found; then the look, the tone, the gestures instantly change; the aspect of anguish and despair is exchanged for that of gratitude, and triumph, and adoration. The language, and the looks, and the terrible struggles, and loud desperate deprecations, tell convincingly, as the parties themselves afterwards declare, that they are in deadly conflict with the Old Serpent—the perspiration rolls off the anguished victims, their very hair is moistened. Some pass through this exhausting conflict several times, others but once. There is no appetite for food; many will eat nothing for a number of days.

In another place we are told that—

A very remarkable physical feature, wondrously displayed by some, especially females, when enjoying these celestial scenes and society is, that every movement, every gesture of the person, the countenance, the head, the hands is the very perfection of gracefulness, though the party be utterly uneducated and naturally most uncouth and awkward. How is this? Oh the transforming power there is in seeing Jesus as He is!

The Rev. Hugh Hunter, in a letter to Dr. Massie, writes as follows:—

You can easily imagine what a noise it makes when fifty or a hundred men, women, and children begin to cry out in the most heartrending accents for mercy. The physical phenomena are very startling. They lose all bodily strength, fall down, and require much kind attention. Some of them waste away to a shadow, some of them are speechless for as long as twelve hours, some of them are fearfully wrought in their bodies, not convulsively, however. I have seen some of them that would have dashed out their own brains; my own servant, for instance. Some have been under conviction for many times, say six or seven; and I have heard of one case I can rely on of conviction sixteen times.

Such are the physical features of the Revival according to its own supporters. The shrieks of despair are treasured up as the war-cry of Revivalism. "As a lady well remarked, the place might often be compared to 'a house on fire with the doors shut.'" Among the miraculous gifts is recorded a species of clairvoyance—"the power of pointing out passages of Scripture while the sense of sight is as completely in abeyance as in sound sleep." We are assured that "the face of one young woman, when she 'went away,' was so radiant with heavenly beauty, that those who observed her were struck with awe, and one woman actually fainted away." These words are not our own, nor do we quote such passages for the purpose of provoking the ridiculous associations which they suggest. The few remarks which we shall think fit to offer on the general subject, we reserve for a future notice of modern Revivalism. Meanwhile, we simply ask, what distinction can be drawn between the trances and ecstasies of the Middle Ages and those of Ulster Protestantism, except in the nature of the times and the doctrines which they respectively degrade. For instance, the Flagellant outburst, like the present, was, Dr. Nielman assures us, a "purely religious movement." It was propagated by pilgrimage, instead of through the press. There was in it more of overt self-sacrifice and less of spiritual exaltation. Its votaries were less actuated by a concern for their personal salvation. They were possessed with a dominant impression of the wickedness of their age, for which they aspired to make atonement by their sufferings. Their language was no discussion of spiritual experiences, but loud denunciation of guilt in high places; their groans were not those of awakened conviction, but of self-inflicted physical pain. Their visions were not of Satan, but of the Saviour and Mary enthroned in the heavens. Yet the Pastoureaux Flagellants and Bianchi were the Revivalists of their day, and those who are acquainted with their history will be slow to believe that nervous prostration is a sure mark of Divine agency.

MR. MAURICE AND THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

THE December number of *Macmillan's Magazine* contains a letter from Mr. Maurice, commenting with unusual severity on an article which lately appeared in this journal on Mr. Kingsley's *Miscellanies*. Mr. Maurice, after referring to one or two observations which that article incidentally contained on his style and method of argument, proceeds to say—"It is the reviewer's comfortable assurance that Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Froude, and I may give ourselves credit for most of Mr. Kingsley's opinions and convictions. The thief has been stopped by an energetic detective of the S. R. division. The different articles of our property have been carefully assorted and ticketed,

and lie at the office for inspection." With regard to Mr. Carlyle, he denies that this is true. What Mr. Kingsley learnt from Mr. Carlyle was, he thinks, only a sense of the necessity of taking everything at first hand, and relying on no man's authority. In his style Mr. Maurice finds "less of the Carlylese dialect than I should expect in any chance number of a provincial newspaper or of the *Saturday Review*." But Mr. Maurice does not expect the real value of Mr. Carlyle's teaching to be appreciated by those who "read Mr. Carlyle because he deals in queer phrases and gives them very accurate and valuable information about the Hohenzollerns." With regard to Mr. Froude, Mr. Maurice supposes that he and Mr. Kingsley may have worked together in the same mine, and continues, "Is there no such thing as genial intercourse between students? Must there always be some goodnatured friend at hand to whisper, 'Watch that fellow, he has got a thought of yours. If you do not keep a sharp eye upon him, he will pocket it, and pass it off as his own.'" With regard to himself, Mr. Maurice takes occasion to lament that when Mr. Kingsley published his first poem, the *Saint's Tragedy*, he "was vain and conceited enough to write a preface to it," and he thinks this preface not only made him look very ridiculous for his presumption, but that it damaged Mr. Kingsley with the public, by connecting him with an unpopular name. Mr. Maurice thinks that Mr. Kingsley may have "picked up a stray hint or two from him," but that he certainly did not adopt from him a theory of religious inspiration alluded to in the article; and Mr. Maurice "believes it the less" because he finds that on many points, such as the poetical position of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Pope, he and Mr. Kingsley disagree. Mr. Maurice concludes by protesting "against a style of criticism which leads young men to think that they can never be original unless they refuse to learn from any contemporary, or even from any man of the old world; which causes intercourse to be frivolous and suspicious, reading to be a mere observation of faults; which has often broken up old friendships; which can never make any man more humble, more true."

We have the sincerest wish to speak of Mr. Maurice with the respect due to him. Saturday Reviewers, like most other men a few years younger than himself, who have passed through something of the same education through which he passed, are under a deep debt to him for the example of his life of active benevolence, for his courage in confronting popular clamour, and for the sincerity and earnestness with which he has set himself to think on subjects of the highest interest. It does not strike us as presumptuous that he should write a preface to the book of any man in England. Nor is the bond of gratitude cancelled because he levels at us what we think an unjust attack. It appears to us a small sneer when he speaks of the Carlylese he should expect to find in provincial newspapers or the *Saturday Review*. It seems strange that a man of his intellectual power should seriously argue that it is unlikely one man should have adopted another man's theory of inspiration because the two do not coincide in their estimate of Pope's poetry. It seems still more strange that Mr. Maurice should state, as his belief, that Mr. Carlyle, who has had so deep an influence on the minds of all educated Englishmen for the last twenty years, is read by the objects of Mr. Maurice's attack merely because he "deals in queer phrases, and gives them very accurate information." But these are small matters. What we really care about in Mr. Maurice's letter is its unfairness. If we are not to look for honesty and fairness of statement in Mr. Maurice, where are we to look for it? A man who has suffered so much from misrepresentation might have been expected to represent an opponent fairly. But Mr. Maurice's letter, we venture to say, would give an entirely incorrect notion of the article in question to any one that had not read it. What we said was, that Mr. Kingsley was indebted for the groundwork of many of his thoughts to certain well-known writers, and that it was not so much originality of fundamental thought, as other high qualities which we pointed out, that constitute, in our opinion, his strength, and give his books such a value that the more they are studied and liked by this generation the better it will be for all of us. Mr. Maurice does not say a word of the general drift of the article, or of the many expressions of unfeigned admiration and esteem it contained. He fastens on the observation that Mr. Kingsley was greatly indebted to other thinkers, and he says of this observation—"The thief has been stopped by an energetic detective of the S. R. division." We cannot believe that Mr. Maurice really thinks this a fair account of a remark made by a literary critic that the writer under review was much indebted to preceding writers. Let us take a parallel instance. If there is one man of whom even Mr. Maurice must allow that this journal has always spoken with the warmest admiration, it is Mr. Mill; but we should never for a "moment hesitate to say that Mr. Mill appears to us to be under great mental obligations to Bentham, and under great mental obligations to Comte. It would never have occurred to us that Mr. Mill, or any one else, could object to this being said, or that any one in Mr. Maurice's position would have stigmatized so harmless and obvious a remark as made by "an energetic detective of the S. R. division." Of course it is open to any one to dispute the fact, Mr. Maurice is quite at liberty to say that in his opinion Mr. Kingsley and he derived their theory of inspiration from a common source, and not one from the other. But he is certainly not at liberty to describe a person holding a

different opinion as a "good-natured person at hand to whisper, 'Watch that fellow, he has got a thought of yours.'"

Criticism is a thing which must be judged as a whole. It is easy to point out the objections to it. The critic finds fault with better men than himself—he picks holes in the learning of more learned men—he subdues both in himself and others the outpourings of admiring enthusiasm. He soon lays himself open to sharp sayings, and if he passes the boundary of vague praise he may be told, with apparent truth, that he is an "energetic detective." In the same way a barrister is exposed to be told that he is paid to lie, and ready to sell his tongue to any scoundrel. A political writer may be laughed at because, at one o'clock in the morning, he gives two hours to expose the merits and mistakes of a speech which it has cost a statesman three months to prepare. A Parliamentary candidate may be easily represented as pandering to the tastes of an ignorant mob. But the common sense of the world has long ago agreed to judge all these things by their general tendency. Experience proves that justice is promoted by hired advocacy—that a statesman communicates with the nation he rules through a free press, even when it abuses him—that constitutional government promotes the happiness of the English people. Neither the advocate, nor the journalist, nor the candidate condemns himself, or will submit to be condemned by others, because he goes through what must be done in order to achieve a public good. So criticism is defensible. Its services to literature and to the national mind far outweigh the evil which may be supposed to attend the position necessarily assumed by the critic, and the critic feels himself justified, because criticism generally is beneficial. He must acknowledge that he is often mistaken, and a writer would be very lucky who writes frequently and never has had any expressions or sentences to regret. But if, on the whole, his critical writing is fair and honest, shaped so as to serve the public ends which criticism is designed to promote, and rendering justice where it refuses to praise or patronize, he stands before men absolved and free from offence. Nor need a critic be deterred from exercising his functions by the reflection which Mr. Maurice offers him, that his criticism is not likely to make him more humble or true. There are hundreds of lawful and useful occupations which do not tend directly and manifestly to make men humble and true. It does not promote humility to defend a prisoner at the Old Bailey, or to form a Ministry, or to win a battle. A man may be engaged in any of these occupations and yet be humble and true, but it does not make him humble and true to engage in them.

If criticism is to be worth anything, it must be honest. The critic submits to the public his judgment of the writer criticised, not because any particular judgment is very valuable, but because experience has shown that criticism generally helps authors, purifies taste, represses pretension, and makes writers better understood. If the judgment submitted to the public is not the judgment of the critic, but only a string of sentences designed to please the writer criticised, all the aims of criticism are necessarily missed. We do not rate absolute originality of thought so highly as Mr. Maurice. It seems to us, for example, quite true to say that Mr. Thackeray has been greatly influenced by Balzac, both in his mode of regarding men and things, and in the construction of his novels. But although, as a piece of literary history, this, if a new remark, would be worth making, yet it would go a very small way towards determining the place of Mr. Thackeray among novelists. Only one reader of Balzac has written *Vanity Fair*, just as only one reader of Mr. Maurice has written *Two Years Ago*. But, supposing the want of absolute originality were to be regarded as a defect that nothing could compensate, it, like every other defect of importance, must be noticed by a critic, or else he will omit what seems to him the most material part of his judgment, for fear lest some one should call the discharge of his duties a triumph of "the detective energies of a policeman." We do not mean to say that any rigid rule ought to be laid down from which there should be no departure. It is sometimes right for the critic to stay his hand. It may happen that a person of high standing, moral worth, and intellectual power is very sensitive, is apt to overheat himself in discussion, and is exceedingly pained by observations on him, unless they are very cautiously put and couched in very sober and serious language. In such a case it may sometimes be compatible with honesty for the critic to maintain a respectful silence. But we cannot agree with Mr. Maurice that every man of distinction is to be expected to feel in this way. We should have felt especially sure that Mr. Kingsley was unlikely to desire to escape from criticism, or to wish that his critic should consciously turn aside from saying what he thought. Not only as a man who has had much success must he be wearied of the standing phrases of praise, but as a man of intellectual force he must feel that the highest compliment a critic can pay him is to treat him honestly. We have been disappointed in Mr. Maurice, and we should be at least equally disappointed if we were made certain that Mr. Kingsley, were he to hear that a critic proposed to discuss his literary debts, would say—"If you do this, I shall consider you a detective policeman stopping thieves and assenting and ticketing stolen goods." Mr. Maurice does not apparently do us the honour to read this journal often, or, even in a moment of susceptibility, he could hardly accuse us of "refusing to learn from men of the old world." We should like to refer him to columns on columns of print in which we have been called pedantic, and fanciful, and other bad names, for insisting on the great profit to be derived

from a knowledge of the classics and the ancient moral and metaphysical philosophers. But if he had read this journal on the many occasions when it has discussed the province of criticism, he would be aware that nowhere has it been said so repeatedly and distinctly that the power of a critic, although capable of being turned to most useful ends, is one that ought never to be cultivated alone, and one of which the value ought never to be overrated. As compared with the production of an original work, it is a very small thing to trace its literary history and analyse the composition of the mind from which it proceeds. This is a small thing, but it is not a thing without value, so long as whatever is done is done thoroughly, with substantial fairness, and with a substantial recognition of all that deserves to be admired and loved in the subject of criticism.

INDIAN COURTS-MARTIAL.

A GREAT portion of the news from India has, for some time past, consisted in the reports of courts-martial, which, we regret to say, it has been necessary to hold both upon officers and soldiers. It can no more be expected that there should be a total absence of crime in the army than in any other class of society; and, consequently, though it must always be a painful thing to see a person who occupies the honourable position of a British officer disgracing the profession of which he is a member, little surprise need be expressed at the number of cases which seem to have been brought before the military courts of justice in India during the last ten months. It is, however, a legitimate matter of surprise that in the case of so many of the sentences lately awarded by Indian courts-martial, it has been found necessary for the Commander-in-Chief to make remarks animadverting upon the irregularity of the proceedings of the court. The last, and certainly most striking, case of this nature was mentioned in the news received from India by a late mail. A private of a Bengal European regiment was brought to trial on three distinct charges of mutinous conduct, and, having been found guilty on all three charges, was sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude. It appears, however, that the court had not the power of inflicting such a penalty for the crimes in question, and that the sentence was consequently illegal. The proceedings were returned for revision by the Commander-in-Chief, who explained the grounds on which he was unable to confirm the sentence; and the court, having thus been made cognizant of the illegality of their former sentence, substituted for it the penalty of corporal punishment and imprisonment for twenty-one years. It was upon this revised sentence that Lord Clyde published the severe animadversions which have appeared in the English papers, and with which every man of good sense and humanity will cordially agree. While plainly expressing his abhorrence of the offence committed, and allowing that, if the prisoner had been tried for mutiny and shot, the punishment would have been most thoroughly consistent with justice, and might have acted as an efficacious example in deterring other offenders, the Commander-in-Chief, with great good sense and clearness, pointed out the evils of the sentence awarded. He showed that an imprisonment of twenty-one years in the climate of India would be but a living death, and that a sentence awarding such a penalty was, in fact, tantamount to condemning the criminal to capital punishment under circumstances of lingering torture. He also remarked, that in the decision at which the court arrived the previous good character of the prisoner, which ought to have been taken into consideration and allowed to act in mitigation of the punishment, had been altogether disregarded. Under these circumstances, Lord Clyde remitted the corporal punishment entirely, and limited the term of imprisonment to eighteen months.

Some difference of opinion will probably exist as to the exercise of the Commander-in-Chief's prerogative in this matter. The opponents of the system of flogging will be loud in their declamations against the barbarity of the members of the court, and will quote the remission of the fifty lashes as a proof of the success of their arguments, and of the advance of the views which they advocate. The officers composing the court will probably find, in the mitigation of the sentence awarded by them, symptoms of an undue leniency in the treatment of the mutinous European soldiers. But the public at large will applaud Lord Clyde's good sense, and will recognise in his remarks upon this question the same practical wisdom which dictated the measures that saved us from an open mutiny among our European troops in India, and which, if its advice had been listened to in time, might have prevented our losing a large and veteran army. We would, however, guard people against being led away, in their approbation of Lord Clyde's behaviour, into the uncharitable error of condemning in too harsh terms the conduct of the members of the court-martial. Improper and unwise the sentence undoubtedly was in the highest degree; but we do not think that those who awarded it can be fairly accused of premeditated cruelty. We must remember the circumstances in which they were placed, and the excuse afforded by these circumstances for the severity of their sentence. Living as they were in a country which had scarcely emerged from the danger of a rebellion of conquered natives, and threatened with the still greater horrors of a civil war stirred up by their own fellow-countrymen, they might well believe that the crisis was one which demanded energetic measures, and that no example could be too severe as a means of putting a stop to the growing insubordination. It is known now that, during the fearful

excitement of the Indian rebellion, words were uttered and actions committed which their authors afterwards regretted. That excitement was but barely appeased when it was again roused by the news of imminent peril arising no longer from the hostility of an open foe, but from mutiny in the friendly camp. It was as if the good man of the house, after successfully repelling the murderous attack of a gang of burglars, had suddenly found himself deserted and betrayed by those of his own household upon whom he had relied for support and protection. The temporary excitement occasioned by such a perilous crisis is sufficient to account for the thoughtless severity of the sentence passed upon William Barry, without ascribing it to wilful cruelty or want of humanity on the part of his judges.

It is not, however, so much to the impropriety of the revised sentence that we wish to direct attention as to the illegal nature of the original sentence pronounced by the Court before the proceedings were returned to them for revision. The second sentence was, it is true, unduly severe—the term of imprisonment awarded by it being, in fact, as Lord Clyde said, unprecedented in the annals of courts-martial; but still the punishment, however excessive, was one which the court had a legal right to inflict. The original sentence, on the contrary, was one which the court were incompetent to pass, and the punishment awarded by it was of a nature not sanctioned by law for the particular crimes for which the prisoner was brought to trial. Here is the curious phenomenon of a court-martial composed probably of officers of some standing in the army, and of which the colonel of a regiment was president, arriving at a decision which was plainly inconsistent with law. There is something rather startling in such a state of things. Either the military code must be very wanting in clearness as to the punishments which courts-martial are authorized in inflicting, or there must have been a reprehensible ignorance of the state of the law on the part of the members of the particular court in question. The possibility of either of these suppositions being true is not very pleasing to contemplate, when we remember the great powers entrusted to courts-martial. The public certainly have a right to expect that every security should be taken for the due execution of these powers; but when we learn that it has been necessary for Lord Clyde on many occasions to find fault with irregularity in the proceedings of the courts-martial held in the army under his command, and not unfrequently to make an alteration in the sentences pronounced, it is scarcely possible to think that due provision is made for the proper administration of military law. We do not find our civil judges passing sentences of punishment which they have not the power of inflicting. Even Sir Peter Laurie, in his wildest moments, scarcely goes so far as this. Extraordinary as his decisions are, they are still kept within the letter of the law. And it must be remembered that the proceedings of civil courts of justice are liable to correction from the force of an external influence to which military tribunals are not amenable. The marked disapprobation of his audience can make Sir Peter Laurie alter his absurd determination of sending an innocent boy to Newgate; but in the case of courts-martial there is no appeal. The confirmation of the sentence rests simply with the general who orders the assembling of the court. The nature of the sentence is not known until the moment when it is on the eve of execution; and no force of public opinion—no influence of the press—can be brought to bear upon the decision of the court; nothing can be done to delay the infliction or to mitigate the extent of the punishment. Had it not been for the animadversions which Lord Clyde found it necessary to make upon the proceedings of the court which tried William Barry, it is probable that the sentence would not have been heard of in this country. If the Indian Commander-in-Chief had possessed no better acquaintance with military law than his subordinates, the prisoner might have been illegally condemned to fourteen years' penal servitude; or he might have undergone the still worse fate of twenty-one years' incarceration under the tropical sun of India, had the confirmation of the sentence passed upon him rested with a less sensible person than Lord Clyde. But can we always reckon upon Generals who possess the same qualifications of legal knowledge and sound common sense?

It is always a matter of regret to right-thinking persons to notice the commission of errors on the part of those to whom is entrusted the duty of carrying out a system in itself essentially good. Such errors afford a handle to the enemies of things as they are, whose sole wish is to discover evil in everything; and doubtless the mistaken severity of the sentence which gave rise to Lord Clyde's censure will be eagerly laid hold of as a pretext for virulent abuse of our military institutions. We may expect to find the editors of penny newspapers in their leading articles for some time to come inveighing against the barbarity of aristocratic officers. The sentence passed on William Barry will in all probability prove a text on which many a change of sermons will be rung. We have already expressed our opinion that an extravagant condemnation of the officers who passed the sentence would be most unjust. The sentence was improper, but its authors met with a fitting reprimand. An error of judgment, excusable perhaps under the circumstances, was committed, but it was happily rectified in time. We do not, however, the less deplore the unfortunate occurrence, or deprecate the repetition of a similar error, especially as we cannot avoid noticing that the court-martial which tried Barry is not the only one whose proceedings have of late called forth the disapproval and

censure of Lord Clyde. The powers entrusted to courts-martial for the preservation of discipline must necessarily be great, but for this very reason the checks by which these tribunals are surrounded should be proportionately strong. It is perhaps going too far to say that the administrative and executive powers are in military law placed in the same hands. The humorous definition once given of a court-martial, as a tribunal in which, like the bull in the china-shop, the judges have it all to themselves, is a little extravagant; but the members of such a court combine functions which are usually looked upon as essentially distinct—they are judge, jury, and almost prosecutor, all in one. Upon the whole, it must be allowed that their powers are wisely exercised; and many persons may be inclined to think that there is even a greater chance of the law being equitably administered by an assemblage of English gentlemen bound by the solemn obligation of an oath, and unfettered by the shackles of legal technicalities, than in a civil court of justice. If military judges are at times liable to be led astray by professional prejudices, they at least possess a counterbalancing advantage in being able to form a proper estimate of the moral worth of the evidence laid before them, without the danger of being misled by technical quibbles or confused by plausible sophisms. It is, however, but reasonable to demand that officers should have a thorough acquaintance with the law which they may be called upon to administer, and that, in passing judgment upon prisoners, courts-martial should not fall into the flagrant error of exceeding the legal powers which they possess.

ST. PANCRAS WORKHOUSE.

IN these trying times it is a great consolation to be blessed with a firm faith in the principle of local self-government. Without such a support the metropolitan vestries and their proceedings would infallibly peril the purity of our political orthodoxy. In the presence of concrete and palpable parochialism there is no safety but in reposing on the abstract dogmas of philosophers. If he trusted only in the sight of his eyes and the hearing of his ears, the stoutest believer might be staggered by the cases in the police courts or the debates reported in the penny parish paper. His only consolation is to take down his *De Tocqueville* and dwell on the sweet assurance that France was lost for want of that government of local grocers which has made the London streets and the London river what they are.

It is pleasant to trace the small beginnings of great things, and we are told that the Vestry is Constitutional Government in embryo. This meanness and fussiness and shabby-genteel self-importance, at which we laugh or grumble according to the cast of our philosophy, is merely the formless germ of the noblest of political organisms. It is a hard exercise of faith to acquiesce in the pedigree which affiliates St. Stephens to St. Pancras, and bids us believe in a family of which one end is D'Iffanger and the other end is Peel. But there are many things in State and Church which are still less dreamt of in our philosophy; and we have the satisfaction of reflecting that nature herself often produces the noblest results out of the very nastiest beginnings.

At the commencement of winter the metropolitan vestries have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, of which they very rarely fail to make use. In the summer, the spirit of vestrydom takes flesh in the form of Mr. Thwaites' Board of Works, and wends its energy in squabbles over main drainage and street numbering. But there is a limit in this direction to its administrative gambols, inasmuch as there is a limit to the endurance of the well-to-do portion of the inhabitants. Accordingly, their sufferings are but trifles, and easily borne. However much the Thames may stink, or the streets may puzzle them, they know that, in the effort to remedy these nuisances, Mr. Thwaites is educating himself as a self-governing institution; and they can only lament that he was not allowed to take a few lessons previously in the colonies or in Ireland. But when the winter comes on, vestrydom in the form of Directors or Guardians of the Poor has much more real terrors. As distress increases, and applications multiply at the workhouse door, they become a prey to conflicting emotions. In October, no doubt, there is still an unequal struggle in their breasts between economy and humanity; but by the time November has arrived, the conflict is over, and economy reigns supreme. They are put there to perform a disagreeable office, and they make up their minds to perform it as disagreeably as they can. The strong hand of a Central Executive forces them in some measure to relieve the poor, but it is a costly process, to which they have a constitutional objection; and they do justice to their feelings by denouncing the centralizing tendencies of our Government, and by clipping and paring the relief as close as the fear of legislative interposition will allow them. Much of this, of course, is done quietly, and is never exposed to the perils of public criticism. If, on a dark November evening, the porter of a London workhouse slams the door, "by order of the Directors," in the face of a dozen starving and shivering wretches, who need be the wiser? They are not the sort of people who write to the *Times* or furnish capital for the political career of a metropolitan member. The Director does not eat his dinner the worse for the fact that the fellow-creatures whom he has illegally turned away are starving on door-steps, or trying to find warmth under the dry arches of Waterloo-bridge; and they are

too few, compared to the vast population around them, even to excite the passing wonder of the Registrar-General at the increase in the death-rate. The only occasions on which the public catch a glimpse of the working of the Poor-law under the beneficent tutelage of metropolitan vestrydom are when a policeman happens to stumble over some miserable rejected applicant on the pavement. Then the quaint entry appears in the police reports—"Mary Smith, charged with being found in the street in a state of entire destitution;" and the magistrate mercifully visits the fictitious offence with an equally fictitious punishment by consigning the prisoner to the food and comfort of a gaol.

During the last week or two there have been two or three cases of delinquent parishes exposed before the police courts, to admonish us how very far we are as yet from the actual realization of our law's splendid profession, that "every subject of the realm has a statutable right to sustenance." It is needless to say that among the offenders the parish of St. Pancras has been proudly pre-eminent. Its name is wearily familiar to all who have been concerned in the investigation of Poor-law grievances. It is the nightmare, the "black beast," of the Poor-law Board. We doubt not that, if the Poor-law Secretary could be suddenly dissected, the words St. Pancras would be found written on his heart. The efforts of the central authority to squeeze humanity out of the parochial millstones are untiring and incessant. At one time they have to send down an inspector to analyse the atmosphere of the Black Hole in which the Directors condemn their "casuals" to pig together. At another they are forced to seek a mandamus from the Queen's Bench to compel the reluctant Directors to submit to an auditor their mysterious accounts, into which Board luncheons and other illicit items are rumoured to have found their way. At another they must take cognizance of the verdict of a coroner's jury charging the Directors with suffering their paupers to die for want of aid. We trust that the Board are ready to fly at their old enemy again, for St. Pancras has not been wanting to its ancient fame. There is a system and a regularity about its enormities which utterly outstrip the rivalry of competing parishes. Some of the others are bad enough. One morning, three girls, in different stages of starvation, made their appearance before Mr. Hammill, under the auspices of the police, and complained that they could get nothing but a crust of bread from Shoreditch workhouse. The master was summoned, and seemed to think he had given an ample explanation when he stated that one was a foreigner and the other had had the small-pox. Some other workhouse was charged before the same magistrate with having come to the practical conclusion that a shilling and a loaf a week was sufficient to satisfy all the wants of human nature. But the St. Pancras device for eluding the disagreeable necessity of rate-paying was on a far grander scale. A poor carpenter, emaciated and tattered, was brought up, charged with the same heinous offence of utter destitution. On examination, it appeared that after having tramped the streets of London in search of work or relief until his feet were almost disabled from lameness, he applied at the St. Pancras workhouse as a last resource, half dead with hunger and fatigue. He was informed in reply, that by order of the Directors no relief would be given to him. It appeared that, finding that winter was coming on and that the severe weather was having its usual effect upon the poor, they had coolly resolved that they would relieve no more able-bodied men, and so stop any further drain upon the rates; and they had given directions to their porter to shut them out accordingly. The master was, of course, summoned, but he could give no sort of reason for this extraordinary refusal to do the primary duty of their office, except that they were already relieving as many as was convenient to them, and they did not choose to relieve any more. There was no attempt made to show that the applicant was one of the men out on strike—in which case there might have been some justification for the refusal to relieve him. Indeed, as there has been no carpenters' strike, it was impossible that any such cause should have brought him to destitution. It was simply the last and the most impudent of the many attempts of the St. Pancras directors to save the ratepayers by a fraud upon the poor. They have no doubt duly calculated that the winter will be over before the heavy artillery of the courts of law can be brought to bear, and that the money saved out of the paupers' mouths will more than pay for the costs of the defence. When the magistrate suggested that some of those shut out might possibly starve, the master coolly intimated in reply that it would be always easy for the police to pick them up.

It is evident that the ordinary machinery provided by the law is quite inadequate to deal with a corporation displaying such a remarkable perseverance in evil-doing. Their sins against humanity have been of no common order. The report presented two or three years since by Dr. Bence Jones, who was deputed to inquire into the condition of their workhouse, depicts a state of things fitter for the hold of a slave ship than for an institution in a Christian country. And ever since, their conduct has been a series of constant efforts to evade their duty, and defy the law which bids them relieve the poor. What motive have they for doing otherwise? If they succeed, they save their rates; if they fail, they suffer no harm, and earn among their brother shopkeepers something that resembles a local reputation. That, in order to spare their own pockets, they are defrauding those who have a right to relief, troubles their consciences but little. Perhaps if they were made to pay for themselves the cost of

the actions they incur, they would learn to treat the statute-book with more respect. Anyhow it is a great evil that the execution of a humane law should be entrusted to those who are opposed to its object, and are determined to spare no ingenuity in the effort to escape from the burdens it imposes. They bring upon the poor more evil than if no such humane law existed. They intercept alike the current of public and of private charity. If there were no Poor-law, efforts would be made by benevolent individuals, as in France, to supply its place. As it is, those whose liberality would be the natural resource of the distressed believe that the duty has been taken off their shoulders by the interposition of the State. Thus—in London, at least—the evils of the two opposite systems are happily combined. The rich act as if there was a Poor-law, and the poor suffer as if there was none.

NULLITY OF MARRIAGE AFTER UNDUE PUBLICATION OF BANS.

A CASE has recently been tried in Sir Cresswell Cresswell's Court which leads to reflections on the possible policy of innovating further on the laws of marriage. A young man marries a minor, after publication of banns under a false name. His name being Bower Wood, he procures the banns to be published under the name of John Wood, with the woman's privity and consent, for the purpose of fraudulently concealing the marriage from his uncle, Mr. Bower, from whom he had expectations. According to the actual law, a marriage by banns, when it is shown that both the contracting parties were cognizant of the fraud intended to be practised, is null and void. Sir Cresswell Cresswell's decision in this case, annulling the marriage, is perfectly unassailable; and it is in entire harmony with the law. The principle upon which the present law is founded is very intelligible—it is to prevent clandestine marriages. A publication of banns under false names is no publication; and the very object of publication is defeated by misdescription, even when there is no fraudulent purpose. The object here is to defend the rights of parents and guardians; and the history of the present law proves the object of the Legislature, which was, as Lord Stowell summarily expresses it, "to afford opportunity to any one to allege an impediment." The famous Marriage Act, 26 George II. c. 33, the Act against Clandestine Marriages, contained very stringent provisions on this head; and by a series of decisions, both in the spiritual and temporal Courts, the clear intention of the Legislature, that the banns were to be published in the true name of the parties, and that otherwise it was no publication, has been shown. And this rule of law, which guided Sir Cresswell Cresswell's decision, was established—that if there were a total variation of names (as in this case, John for Bower), whether such misdescription arose from accident or design, or whether such design were fraudulent or not, the marriage was void. In a remarkable case, where, for a mere freak, a woman chose to have her banns published in the name of Wright, to which she had no pretension, though there was no fraudulent purpose, still, as the misdescription operated as a fraud, the marriage was null.

The 3 George IV. c. 75 entirely changed this law. Sect. 19 enacted that "where a marriage had actually taken place, notwithstanding false names or a false name had been assumed by both or either of the parties in the publication of banns, such marriage was to be valid to all intents and purposes." In this legislation the object of preventing clandestine marriages was evidently postponed to what was then considered the superior social obligation to maintain the indissolubility of marriage. But this law only lived a year. It was speedily superseded by 4 George IV. c. 76, which seems to have aimed at a middle course between the severity of 26 George II. and the countenancing the frauds to which the lax provisions of the statute of the preceding year must have led. This Act—and it is the present law—provides that if any person knowingly and wilfully intermarries without due publication of banns, such marriage is null and void. And due publication is construed to mean publication in the right names of the parties. By decisions, this statute is construed into the rule of law that both parties must be cognizant of the undue publication before the marriage is celebrated. In the Wood case decided the other day, it was proved that the woman, though for some time reluctant, was over-persuaded by the man, and assented to the publication in a false name. Where either of the parties is ignorant of the misdescription in banns, the marriage cannot be assailed.

The question—and it is a very important one—now arises whether this provision is not too harsh and stringent. When a suit for nullity of marriage was cumbersome and expensive, perhaps the existing law worked well enough. It did prevent clandestine marriages; but the consideration now presses whether, when the process for dissolving a marriage is easy and cheap, the duty of discountenancing clandestine marriages is not inferior to the duty of maintaining a marriage contracted in perfect good faith between the parties, though with a purpose of deceiving parents or guardians. In Wood's case it appears that "it was a long time before the wife would consent to the publication of banns under the false name. But the man said the marriage would be legal, and if she loved him she would consent, and would trust in him afterwards." This marriage occurred in 1852; and now, in 1859, both parties are tired of each other, and an amicable suit is instituted, in which their mutual wishes are complied with, and both are open to seek new

unions. Now, let us mark the social consequences of the law as it stands. People know that it is cheap and easy to get a marriage annulled. It is at least probable that both man and woman, especially in the lower classes, may think of marriage upon trial. Each may foresee the possibility of mutual weariness. There is a door open. Let the banns, by mutual consent, be put up in a false name. If the married couple get on well together, there is no obligation to disturb the marriage; if not, they can always go to Sir Cresswell. This is not an impossible case, but there is one much more likely to occur. The man alone may contemplate the possibility of getting rid of his wife; his influence in the soft hours of courtship is great; he is superior, perhaps, in station and acquirements and social position, and may very easily persuade a loving and unselfish girl to consent to the fraudulent banns. It is quite possible for a marrying Lothario of this sort to entrap a whole harem of victims. Proof of the woman's consent, even in writing, may be easily extorted, and a succession of suits for nullity is not so very expensive to one of these peculiar tastes.

Great, therefore, as is our respect for all legislative safeguards against clandestine marriages, as things are, with a cheap and ready Divorce Court, it may be fairly urged that in the case of publication of banns the law might reasonably be assimilated to what it actually is in the case of marriages by license. "A marriage under a license, in which one of the parties was described by a false Christian and surname, was held valid" (we quote *Rogers on Ecclesiastical Law*), for, it is added, "a license is not intended for publication;" and so "even where there is a fraudulent design in one party to deceive the other party by the insertion of a wrong name in a license, such fraud will not vitiate the marriage solemnized under such license," for "in licenses the identity," not the description, "of the parties is the material circumstance." By all means let the offence of presenting a false name in banns be made a crime equal to that of a false description in a license. In either case let the crime be held to be a misdemeanour, and punishable by fine and imprisonment; but let the marriage be held valid. The fraud in procuring the marriage in either case, whether that of banns or license, is the same. Let such fraud be dealt with and punished in the same way, and let the marriage be dealt with in the same way. As things are, the marriage after fraudulent banns is void—the marriage by license fraudulently worded is good. In the one case it is true there has been no publication, but in the other publication is not required, and the object of the license is to dispense with publication; and in either case the object of the law should be not to allow parties cognizant of the fraud to take advantage of the fraud.

What is the principle under which fraud in procuring a marriage—which is the case of a misdescription in a license—does not invalidate such marriage, but to secure the great social advantage of the permanence of the marriage tie and contract? In the case of a false description in a license, the law seems to say such misdescription is fraudulent; it may be intended to deceive parents; it may be intended to deceive one of the parties. Such misdescription is a misdemeanour, and it might be made a felony. As such, the misdescription is punishable; but the marriage stands good. You may have intended to deceive each other or your families, but you cannot be released from your lifelong connexion. Why, it may be reasonably asked, does not the law hold this language to Mr. and Mrs. Bower Wood? It comes to this. The tendency of the recent relaxations introduced into the law of Divorce is to suggest the solubility of the marriage tie. Not only moralists, but statesmen, admit that the great interest of society is to make the marriage tie permanent, except under the influence of the gravest contrary considerations. Additional safeguards for the permanence of marriage are required. The crowds flocking to Sir Cresswell Cresswell's Court prove that the taste for getting rid of inconvenient marriages is spreading; and, in our judgment, the present state of the law as to undue publication of banns opens the door to an undesirable laxity. Whatever Mr. and Mrs. Wood may have agreed to do about deceiving Mr. Bower is past and gone. Their marriage was clandestine, and a wrong to the Wood family, but they never meant to deceive each other. Now, seven years after marriage, they get tired of their boy and girl engagement. They wish to be free, and they are free. But it would be much better to make them pay a lifelong penalty. Marriages upon trial are not only a moral abomination but a social evil, even more pernicious than that which goes under the name; and the Wood case proves their possibility, and a cheap Divorce Court ensures their probability.

NO POPERY IN CLERKENWELL.

IT is satisfactory to know that pure Protestant Christianity will not be compromised in Clerkenwell. We have derived this assurance from our perusal of the weekly record of the news of that interesting district, and we feel bound to communicate the comfortable intelligence to those among our readers who have not enjoyed the same delightful privilege. The adult inhabitants of Clerkenwell must, indeed, continue to preserve their souls from Popish snares by their own vigilant sagacity; but the children, we can confidently state, are under the faithful guardianship of those who, to use their own emphatic words, will see that "the Bible,

in its solid and substantial principles, shall not be militated against in any way."

A meeting was lately held of the committee of the Clerkenwell parochial schools, to take into consideration the Popish practices alleged to prevail at St. Philip's District Church, and the propriety of withdrawing the school-children from this pernicious influence. It is one of the many blessings which we owe to a cheap press that a full report of the speeches delivered upon this momentous occasion may be purchased for a single halfpenny. The motion was introduced by a speech from a Mr. Holland, which deserves publicity beyond the bounds of Clerkenwell. The committee, it appears, are satisfied that the teaching of the master and mistress of the schools on week-days is unadulterated Protestantism; but it is feared that on Sundays "fundamental Christian principles will be neutralized, and the immortal mind poisoned by the false doctrines and superstitious practices of deep and designing priests." This, in the eloquent language of Mr. Holland, is the danger against which the committee are called upon to provide. He has detected a nefarious scheme for "poisoning the spring of religious teaching at its source by perverting the minds of children." The dark design is prosecuted "by the basest insinuations, by the inculcation of the most unscriptural dogmas, by instilling all the principles of Popery in an insidious and garbled form, accompanied by gaudy shows, scenic displays, and mountebank exhibitions." This is very alarming language, and none the less so because it conveys no distinct charge. But Mr. Holland presently entered into particulars of what he had himself witnessed. He was so good as to go himself, in the interest of undefiled Protestantism, to one of the suspected services, and he described to the committee how he was moved to zealous indignation by what he heard and saw. Under the pretence of Christian worship, he beheld a spectacle such as he could not have believed possible before an intelligent congregation. The service, it appears, was held in a school-room, because the church is under repair. Those who are acquainted with the interior aspect of an ordinary parochial school-building will not fail to perceive that "gaudy shows" and "scenic displays" could only be produced on such a humble stage by the use of some very ingenious contrivances. "A few minutes before the hour of commencing worship, the organist began playing on a harmonium." Here is rank Popery. Soon Mr. Holland heard "the tramping of a great number of feet." The gaudy show was now ready to begin. "Presently about twenty boys ascended the stairs." Twenty boys—natives, probably, of Clerkenwell—actually engaged and paid to undermine the Protestantism of their generation! As soon as the boys entered, "the whole congregation rose and made way for them." It may, perhaps, be thought that the object was, as the room was small, to enable the boys to reach the places where they were to sing. But here, again, Mr. Holland discovers Popery. The clergyman now entered, "and commenced intoning the service in a sing-song manner, of which he (Mr. Holland) could give a specimen if it were interesting to the committee." The committee, however, declined this spirited proposal, and Mr. Holland's speech proceeded without the musical interlude he had designed. "The singing of the hymn was performed in a similar manner"—that is, "it was led off by the clergyman, accompanied by a note from the harmonium in the same sing-song tone," and the Absolution was treated in the same way—at least so says Mr. Holland; but "leading-off" that portion of the service is a contrivance which we should think had not yet suggested itself even to the most Papistical of innovators. Mr. Holland, however, does certainly appear to reckon among his grievances that the clergyman "led off" the Absolution at such a pace that he could not follow him, as probably he conceived to be part of his duty as a fervent Protestant. And then the hymn was sung in a sing-song tone. At this point of the service a less acute listener might have failed to detect Popery, and therefore we have reason to be thankful that Mr. Holland went to church that evening.

But let us turn from ceremonies to doctrine. "The minister" began to preach. Even the word "minister" seems to be an offence to the faithful Protestant. "The object of the preacher was to prove that the priest had the power of forgiving sins." To do this he laid down the Bible—"of course he must"—and took up the Prayer-book. The notion of an irreconcilable hostility existing between the two volumes which lie side by side on the reading-desk of every church is a feature of superfine Protestantism which deserves attention. But presently Mr. Holland declared that the sermon he had heard was contrary, not only to the Bible, but also to "the true meaning of the Prayer-book." The true meaning here intended is probably that which would agree with Mr. Holland's prejudices—if, indeed, it be possible to give any meaning to the Liturgy which could be satisfactory to his exalted Protestantism. One of the abuses which had grieved his pious soul even before he visited the offending church was a list of Lent preachers for the present year, in which a certain day was called "the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary." And, again, in the discourse which moved Mr. Holland's indignation, the preacher had the audacity to call himself "A priest of the Holy Catholic Church." It would appear that Mr. Holland ascertains "the true meaning" of the Prayer-book by some other process than that of reading it. Perhaps the genuine Protestant doctrine would be best supported by tearing out a leaf here and there. But let us hear a little more

of the obnoxious sermon. The expression "eucharistical service" displeased Mr. Holland, and it may be conceded that the preacher might have used a shorter word. Perhaps the employment of two unnecessary syllables is due to that love of gaudy decoration which is one of the surest marks of Popery. "Children," it is urged, "are easily led away by the show, the drapery, and the mountebank nonsense which are brought out to captivate the senses and to create a distaste for the true and genuine." The two last adjectives are probably intended to describe Mr. Holland's own view of the doctrine of Forgiveness of Sins, as contrasted with the doctrine of the sermon. A gentleman who declares that the words of the Prayer-book are opposed to its true meaning is pretty certain to be impervious to argument, for which, indeed, this would not be the proper place. But observe the vigour of his imagination. He goes to a poor school-room, where he saw twenty singing boys enter, much as boys are apt to do, and this he calls "show." And what can he mean by "drapery?" Had the boys surplices, or was there a curtain over any door to keep out the cold? "Mountebank nonsense" perhaps refers to the act of bowing towards the altar, which Mr. Holland says he witnessed. We should think that twenty boys, even if they were clothed in new shining surplices, would not greatly "captivate the senses" of twenty other boys from the parochial schools. And it may be some comfort to Mr. Holland to reflect that his young charges are, in all probability, ignorant of the meaning of the word "Eucharistical," and very imperfectly acquainted with the controversy on the Apostolical Succession. "Judaism, Paganism, and Paganism, of which heathenish systems Popery is but a mixture," must contrive a few additional attractions before the infant mind will be in any such danger as is apprehended by Mr. Holland. "Judaism, of which heathenish system Popery partakes largely!" Was ever such nonsense as this babbled beyond the walls of Bedlam upon any subject except the most momentous that can engage the mind of man? If Mr. Holland talked so wildly anywhere but on a school committee, a committee of his person and estate would be thought the only resource open to his distressed family.

It may be feared that we are contributing to give to this ignorant and vulgar busybody the notoriety at which he chiefly aims. But cannot the desire which he feels to become a public character be gratified at somewhat lighter cost? We had thought that Mr. Thwaites' Parliament, if it did no other good, was at least useful as an outlet for some of that mischievous activity which otherwise must convulse parishes, and drive incumbents to distraction. But, of late, the Metropolitan Board of Works has fallen into a surprising apathy. Surely Mr. Holland might be persuaded to take up arterial drainage instead of constituting himself the purge of the Protestant Church from the corruptions of Popery and Puseyism. The meed of parochial eloquence, the full report in the local journal and the condensed paragraph in the *Times* and the *Morning Advertiser*, would still be his; while to society there would be this signal gain, that the inevitable religious controversies of the time would not be rendered utterly ridiculous by the intrusion of illiterate, noisy agitators, who are principally intent upon making their own names prominent in the newspapers. It is sad enough that people of education and refinement should strive so bitterly as they do about questions of religious ceremonial, but when the stupidity and impudence of a Holland thrusts itself into the delicate discussion, the effect is repulsive in the extreme. There is only one excuse that can be offered for this odious agitation. It is that Mr. Holland, and those whose opinions he represents, heartily dislike innovations upon the old forms of worship, and have greedily seized an opportunity of speaking out their minds. We can readily believe that Mr. Holland is not fond of music. Perhaps the choir at St. Philip's, Clerkenwell, may have bored the poor man to a point of irritation at which he resolved at any price to have revenge. We have seen at St. George's-in-the-East a fierce contention between one party which was employed to sing and another which was determined to say or shout the prayers. The performance which Mr. Holland disrespectfully calls "sing-song," is very likely to be much more interesting to the choristers than to the congregation. The children of the parochial schools may have been employed to swell the audience, which is compelled, whether it will or no, to listen to a set of amateurs exercising their vocal powers to their own great delight; and this, we are convinced, is the only vestige that can be found of a plot having been laid against the bodies or souls of the youth of Clerkenwell. Whether the service be said or sung, the children, if asked, would probably reply that it is all in the day's work, and they do not mind how they have it. But adults who do not understand or care for music may fairly object to its being administered to them in such very large doses. A few days ago, Mr. Babbage, the eminent mathematician, energetically interfered with the performance near his door of four barrel-organs, which an Irish servant-girl considered a most suitable accompaniment to a wedding-breakfast then going forward at the next house. Clergymen, as well as magistrates would do wisely to allow for differences of taste. Possibly the singers at St. Philip's Church sing for the same reason as Mr. Holland speaks—for the sake of a little notoriety in the district in which they live. At a time when the jealousy of innovation is so violent that even the Bishop of London is actually accused of "Puseyism" because he has ventured to show himself a little more reasonable than Mr. Holland, it is a pity that any

colour should be given to the suspicion that the old-fashioned mode of worship has been altered merely out of regard to the æsthetic and artistic tendencies of a small minority of a congregation.

REVIEWS.

MR. TROLLOPE ON CENTRAL AMERICA.*

AFTER Mr. Trollope had visited the West Indies he went to Central America, and he has added an account of the Isthmus and the adjacent territory to the volume in which the West Indies are described. Of the present political constitution of the British colonies Mr. Trollope does not speak very favourably, but he is much more unreserved in his condemnation when he gets to the former possessions of the Spanish Crown. "The whole country has received the boon of Utopian freedom, and the mind loses itself in contemplating to what lowest pitch of human degradation the people will gradually fall." If the spectacle of the wasted resources of Jamaica is a saddening one, much more so is the spectacle of the desolation and barbarity of New Granada and Costa Rica. Land is receding from cultivation, populous cities are falling into ruins, and men are going back into animals. Through these unhappy regions Mr. Trollope journeyed, fighting with unnumbered difficulties of travelling, and getting, from his commerce with men and things, what little amusement a lively philosopher can extract from life in a country where there are no roads, hotels, or washerwomen. He crossed the isthmus by the railway—then went in an English man-of-war to Punta Arenas, in Costa Rica—rode to San José, the capital of that bewildered Republic—and ultimately took boat on the San Juan, the river that issues from the great Lake of Nicaragua, and came to the Atlantic again at Greytown. At one point of his journey he had the honour of meeting with the President, or Dictator, of Costa Rica, who was accompanied by Prince Polignac and the O'Gorman Mahon. Central America, like misfortune, brings together strange bed-fellows. The President seems to go on like bigger men in a similar position. He accepts his office for a limited time, but whenever he pleases, he re-elects himself, and he instantly and invariably turns out of the country any one who expresses any political opinion. In this simple way, Costa Rica is kept as happy and contented as France; and no grumbling would be heard were it not that the President has enacted a law that no one except himself shall possess the privilege of supplying the makers of alcohol with the necessary sugar. On the occasion when Mr. Trollope came across him he was journeying to make some arrangements in connexion with M. Belly's much-talked-of Central American Canal. He and his brother President of Nicaragua are the potentates through whose territories this canal is expected to pass, and Prince Polignac and the O'Gorman Mahon were present as abettors and patrons of the enterprise. We might leave Central America very much to itself and care little about its self-elected Presidents and their sugar monopolies, were it not that the configuration of the earth makes these wretched little Republics a great highway for the commerce and carriage of all mankind. How the isthmus is to be crossed is a very important point; and we now chiefly recur to Mr. Trollope's book, because it gives us, for the first time, a clear account of what has been done there, of what may reasonably be expected to be done, and of the great scheme for doing nothing which has been got up by French ingenuity.

The recent history of the isthmus of Panama affords a curiously close parallel to the history of the isthmus of Suez. The notion of making a channel of communication between the two seas has been entertained ever since the days of Cortez, just as successive conquerors of Egypt have attempted, or thought of attempting, to connect the European and the African gulfs. But it is only within the very last few years that the obstacles interposed by nature have been overcome. In both instances they have been overcome by railways; in both, the railways have been made by men of English race; in both, there has been a rival French scheme for making a canal; and, in the case of both, it may be proved to an arithmetical certainty that the canal, if made, could not possibly pay. At present, there is a railway which runs from Aspinwall, on the Atlantic, to Panama, on the Pacific, a distance of forty-eight miles. This railway cuts the isthmus at nearly, if not quite, its narrowest point; but the labour which its construction cost was enormous. It had to be carried through one continuous forest, and for the greater part of the way along the Chagres river. The work was very unhealthy, and the mortality among the labourers was proportionately great. Irishmen were enticed over at high wages, but most of them died. Then Chinese were tried, but they were utterly inefficient, and "when distressed, had a habit of hanging themselves." The work was completed by the labour of the inhabitants of Central America, but they knew what they were about, and demanded enormous pay. It is also very expensive to maintain the line now it is made. The growth of the forest is so quick, that the strip of ground adjacent to the line, about twenty yards on each side, has to be cleared of timber and foliage every six months. But as the

* *The West Indies and the Spanish Main.* By Anthony Trollope. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859.

Company has an entire monopoly, it can charge in proportion to its outlay. A single ticket for the forty-eight miles costs five pounds. There is no difference of classes in the trains, and luggage is charged for besides. The ordinary luggage of a travelling Englishman, a portmanteau and two or three little things generally carried in the hand, would cost two pounds ten shillings over and above the fare. Practically, then, a traveller must pay from seven to eight pounds for the mere locomotion across the isthmus. We are not, therefore, much surprised to learn, that although the line, made on a dead flat, in a country where there are no lawyers, cost thirty-two thousand pounds a mile, the shareholders are reported to receive the handsome dividend of twenty-five per cent. The passage money from New York to San Francisco, with two voyages of eleven days each, and food included, is fifty dollars, and out of this twenty-five dollars go to the railway company. But the railway company having expended a million and a half on their railway, and having actually done the thing they meant to do, while all other projectors have only talked of doing it, deserve their reward. They, and they alone, obviate the necessity of going round Cape Horn, and as the whole transit of the isthmus need not now occupy more than twelve hours, the railway of Panama is a very considerable fact.

Without a map it would be useless to speak of the many other plans that have been proposed for crossing the isthmus, but the canal deserves special consideration. Mr. Trollope justly observes, that it is desirable the world should know the facts of the case, not only that all prudent persons may button up their pockets against an unprofitable concern, but because these facts are so curiously illustrative of the French way of setting about business. The railway of Panama is not far from the boundary which divides New Granada from Costa Rica. At the other end of Costa Rica—that is, on its northern boundary—is the river San Juan, which principally flows through Nicaragua, and which leads from Greytown, on the Atlantic, to the great lake in the centre of the isthmus. From the north-western corner of the lake to the Pacific is a distance of only twenty miles. Although, therefore, the whole length of the space to be traversed is two hundred miles, nine-tenths of this distance has an existing water communication. M. Belly proposes to improve this existing water communication, and to make a canal through the remaining twenty miles, so that sea-going ships shall be able to pass from one ocean to the other. The first look of the country on the map so immediately suggests some scheme of this sort, that M. Belly has long been anticipated by other projectors, who have inquired into the feasibility of making a canal by the aid of the San Juan and the Lake of Nicaragua. An American company took the matter up seriously, and had the whole route carefully surveyed by a competent engineer, and he came to the conclusion that the canal, if it was to answer its intended purpose, would cost upwards of twelve millions sterling. They accordingly abandoned the project as hopeless, and the field was left undisputed to M. Belly. This gentleman, who describes himself as “Publiciste et Chevalier,” went on a much simpler principle. He first got a report of the route and its advantages, and of the exact cost of construction, from an engineer who lived in France, and had no personal knowledge of Central America, but who “utilised,” as he said in his report, the works and maps of his predecessors, and who came to the conclusion that the thing was to be done for a little less than five millions. Armed with this authority, M. Belly proceeded to make some preliminary arrangements with the Presidents of the Republics, and then announced his plan to the world in the following terms:—

On the 1st of May, 1858, at Rivas, in Nicaragua, in the midst of a course of circumstances full of grandeur, a convention was signed which opens to civilization a new view and unlimited horizons. The hour has come for commencing with resolution this enterprise of cutting the Isthmus of Panama. . . . The solution of the problem must be no longer retarded. It belongs to an epoch which has given to itself the mission of pulling down barriers and suppressing distances. It must be regarded, not as a private speculation, but as a creation of public interest—not as the work of this people or that party, but as springing from civilization itself.

Apparently M. Belly wrote to Lord Malmesbury to tell him that he was going to make the canal, and Lord Malmesbury civilly replied that he was glad to hear it. This was a great catch to M. Belly, and is duly placarded as a virtual recognition by England of the merits of his scheme; but the French Government does not seem to have committed itself, and M. Belly gives it to be understood rather than expressly states that the Emperor looks favourably on the “new views and unlimited horizons” which his devoted subject is opening to the world. The Central American sovereigns are more easily caught, and plenty of fine words are sprinkled to catch them. Carrera of Guatemala, “though an Indian and uneducated, is a man of natural genius, and has governed for fifteen years with a wisdom which has attracted to him the unanimous adherence of his colleagues.” “Don Juan Mora of Costa Rica has not had to spill a drop of blood in maintaining in his cities an order much more perfect than any to be found in Europe,” and so forth. Happy are the shareholders that are permitted to sink five millions sterling in the dominions of such men!

The difficulty which frightened the Americans who really surveyed the locality, but which appeared less formidable to the French engineer at Paris, is that both the river and the lake are so very shallow that a channel must be blasted in order to carry deep-sea ships. In point of time it could never compete with

the railway, as two days must be spent in getting through the locks, and the only saving would be in the transit of heavy goods, while no heavy freight could be charged for them, or they would be sent round by Cape Horn. The objection to the Nicaraguan Canal is exactly like that which stands in the way of the Suez Canal. If the canal is shallow and small, big ships cannot pass through, and will go, as now, round the Cape. If the canal is deep and large, the enormous expense of construction will require the imposition of very heavy transit dues, and then it will be cheaper to send heavy goods by the Ocean route. As for light goods and passengers, the railway in each isthmus must be quicker and better for them. These objections are the things about which M. Belly ought to write; and he ought to meet them in a fair and satisfactory way. Magnificent sentences about “new views and unlimited horizons” are quite beside the real question. The horizon of the Panama railway, which passes through a tropical forest, must be limited enough, but it pays twenty-five per cent. We should be sorry, with our abundant recollections of joint-stock companies and their prospectuses, to hold England up for an example, but if there ever was a time when paragraphs about new views and unlimited horizons could have been successfully substituted here for statistical information, the time is pretty well over now. It is worth remarking that one of the clauses of M. Belly's Convention with the Presidents provided that two French ships of war should be stationed in the Lake of Nicaragua, and that the ships of war of all other nations should be excluded. This is a great triumph for him and his countrymen over the domineering and intrigues of England. France alone is to be mistress of the Lake of Nicaragua. Fortunately, nature is on the side of the British, and we may seek comfort from the recollection that French ships of war are not likely to get to the Lake of Nicaragua until lovers of unlimited horizons have come forward with a liberal subscription of five millions sterling.

MR. SALA ON LIFE IN LONDON.*

WHETHER it be for good or for evil, the manufacture of books by means of reprints and collected essays has grown into an established practice, and must be recognised as a feature in modern literature. With periodicals, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, swarming around us as they do, such a result is natural and unavoidable. There must necessarily be a good deal of periodical writing that deserves preservation, and a good deal more that is believed by the producers to deserve it. It is a hard thing for an author of any spirit to see his muse dragging out an obscure existence without any status whatever in society, confounded with the multitude, or perhaps given to somebody else by common report. No wonder he is eager to own her before the world, give her a right to bear his name, and make an honest woman of her, especially if there is an enterprising publisher ready to enact the heavy father and abet the union with his blessing and a cheque. It may look like an ingenious and simple contrivance for attaining to the full honours of independent authorship, but of this the public has no right to complain. There is, it is true, a little deception which is occasionally practised, but which is, in reality, one of the most innocent and transparent of the tricks of trade—that of trying to pass off the collection as a connected work by running a thread of story through it, or as an entirely new production by means of a fancy title—like the *Butterman's Bargain*, or *Tales from the Lining of an Old Trunk*—suggestive of the supposed source of the author's materials. The policy is, it is scarcely necessary to observe, a shortsighted one. Persons about to furnish—if prudent housekeepers, and not prepared for a large outlay—will always prefer goods that have already seen some service; and, as it is with articles of furniture, so it is with literary articles. The fact of their being second-hand, instead of being a drawback, is a guarantee of a certain amount of durability in the material as well as in the workmanship. On the whole, however, the practice is not likely to have any very bad effect upon literature. If papers are written with a view to ultimate publication under the immediate responsibility of their author, the extra care and finish bestowed upon them can scarcely fail to benefit at least periodical literature; and even if they do make a worthless book, perhaps it is just as well that the three-volume novelists of the lending library should not monopolize all the rapidity of the craft.

At any rate, whether they be objectionable or not as a general rule, even the most bitter opponent of reprints must admit that the volumes now before us have a sufficient reason for making their appearance. The long services of Mr. Sala as a periodical writer, and the great popularity of his writings, have given him an unquestionable right to set up a title-page of his own, and with so much work lying ready to his hand, nothing could be more natural than that he should turn it to account as he has done. For critical purposes, these volumes are better than one written off-hand, in the same degree and for the same reason that a number of samples from different parts of a sack are a better criterion of quality than one taken from the top; and thus we can now form a fairer estimate of the causes of Mr. Sala's popu-

* *Daylight and G daylight.* By George Augustus Sala. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859.

Twice Round the Clock. By George Augustus Sala. London: Houlston and Wright. 1859.

larity and the tendencies of his writings, than if we had to deal with a new novel or volume of poetry of his composition. The essays collected together under the title of *Gaslight and Daylight* appeared originally in *Household Words*, and are eminently characteristic of that periodical. Years hence, when lecturers and essayists begin to take a comprehensive and philosophical view of English literature in the nineteenth century, *Household Words* will be particularly valuable as affording examples of the peculiarities of what will be probably called the mannerist school of prose, just as we now speak of the "Lake" or "metaphysical" schools of poetry. Nowhere else is to be found in such purity that style, cultivated by Mr. Dickens and his followers, the leading characteristic of which is a subordination of matter to manner, conveying the impression that the writer was taking thought not so much for what he was to say as for the way in which he was to say it, and would rather pen a platitude with an air of oddity and originality about it, than utter the profoundest truth or most sparkling witticism in ordinary language. Of course there are readers who profess to find something very refreshing in bits of mannerism like "Lesbia has a temper. Let me whisper it; a deuce of a temper. Let me write it on paper, and show it to you privately; a devil of a temper." Some persons will attribute Mr. Sala's popularity to the tricks and word-juggles of this sort which infuse a kind of pseudo-quaintness and mock humour into his writing. We, however, think better of the public as well as of Mr. Sala than to believe that his success as an essayist was obtained by such puerile and easily-acquired artifices. He is an amusing writer—not because he frequently affects eccentricity of style, but because he is naturally quaint, and has a genuine humour which shows itself in spite of the peculiarities of his school. But his chief attraction lies neither in his humour nor in his quaintness, but simply in the class of subjects treated of in his works. There is, and always has been, a strange fascination for a very wide circle of readers in descriptions of what is called "life," and especially of "low life." Why there should be, it is not easy to say. It may be that there is a sort of picturesqueness which is incompatible with respectability—as the word is popularly understood—and which pleases the mind as pictures of beggars and bandits and dilapidated interiors do the eye. Or it may be that orderly, prosperous people, who never commit an act of questionable propriety, and whom, in the elegant language of the advertisements, Providence has blessed with affluence, like to read about the inferior condition, moral or social, of some of their brethren, for the same reason that a man sitting in an arm-chair beside a comfortable fire likes to hear the rain beating against the window and to reflect upon the number of sets of teeth that are chattering outside at that moment. There are many, no doubt, whose incentive is simple curiosity and a thirst for knowledge; while, on the other hand, there are some with whom their profound and intimate knowledge of the things described acts in the same way. For example, when Mr. Sala devotes several of his essays in *Daylight and Gaslight* to public-house life and its attendant phenomena, he gratifies not merely the people who say "Isn't it strange?" but also those whose enjoyment finds vent in the exclamation, "Isn't it true to nature?" But, however it may be accounted for, the taste is there, and there have been always writers ready to humour it, from Tom Brown, dirty and droll, who stirred up the unsavoury "life" of a century and a half ago as a street boy stirs up a puddle, to the Tom-and-Jerry instructors of youth of some fifty years since, whose manuals are still to be found among the facetas of the second-hand bookseller, with their vividly coloured plates of Vauxhalls and Saloons filled with bucks in hessians, conical hats, and caped top-coats ogling the pulpy hours of the period. We have every reason to congratulate ourselves that this delicate task is now managed for us in a manner becoming the decorous age in which we live. The literary gentlemen who are engaged in the life department now-a-days are too high-minded to induct us into the mysteries of its more dubious phases. It is true they make a point of conducting us to the very threshold, but they distinctly refuse to go further with us. They lead us to the top of the Haymarket, tell us it is a "wicked street" and a "bad thoroughfare," and lead us home again, discoursing beautifully by the way. They take us to the Casino, and, when we have paid our shilling, they put their backs to the door, and say, as the nursemaids say in the Park when their young charges want to bathe their feet in the Serpentine, "No, no, naughty place, mustn't go there." And then, lest ill-natured people should hint that this reticence is affected merely because they do not know their business, they take care to inform us that they themselves are perfectly familiar with what they so nobly decline to discuss, and that, to use the figurative language of Mr. Sala, they "have conned its grim pages and studied its unwholesome lore attentively"—an assurance which not only shows them in their proper light as martyrs to science, but also has the effect of the wholesome, but provoking, aphorism impressed upon us in our youth, that "little boys must not know too much."

Another favourite plan is to adopt a high moral tone, with a dash of philanthropy when low-life subjects are under treatment. Thus, Mr. Sala assures us that he has "but one end and aim" in the series of papers called *Twice round the Clock*—"to tell us the truth about London, its life and manners, and to place before us certain things which, in his opinion, it behoves us, and all who have a faith in the better part of humanity, to think about." Addressing himself to respectable people of every degree, he tells them they would fare but badly

at the hands of the ragged ones they despise, "were it not for the humble efforts of us poor pen-and-ink missionaries." "I," he continues, "have no greed of gain in advocating their cause, for I am unknown to them and am of your middle class, and am as liable to be stoned by the ragged ones for having a better coat than they any day. But, woe be to you, respectables, if you shut your ears to their plaints and your eyes to their condition." Acting on these fine impulses, he writes an uncommonly graphic and amusing series of twenty-four papers on a variety of subjects, from Billingsgate market (with a dissertation on sprats) to the *bal masqué*, and the mode of taking the night-charges at Bow-street police station; and his only regret is that he has been unable "to tell the story of a prize-fight, of a ratting match, or of a boys' low lodging-house in these pages"—his friend Mr. Augustus Mayhew having already improved those instructive occasions for the public in a work called *Paved with Gold*. His sphere of usefulness having been thus limited by circumstances beyond his control, we should hesitate to depreciate his exertions were it not for a suspicion that, even had he been permitted to give completeness to his work in the manner desired, it would not have conducted much to his purpose as he states it. We utterly fail to perceive wherein a prize-fight is one of those things which it behoves us as a moral duty to think about. We do not consider that the plaints to be heard at a ratting-match have much claim on our sympathy; and we doubt whether even a boys' low lodging-house, done in Mr. Sala's diverting manner, would throw much light on the real condition of the ragged ones. In fact, we incline to a general belief that Mr. Sala and writers of his school are labourers in the cause of philanthropy only in that sense in which the little mud-larks on the river, who dip their heads in the mud for sixpence, and pelt each other with kittens and other common objects of the sewer, may be said to be engaged in the purification of the Thames. "Night-watchmen," "excavators," and "bone-grubbers" are the words employed by Mr. Sala to express the social position of himself and his *confrères*; but our similitude is preferable, as it recognises their sense of fun and the delight they take in their work. That they should find it necessary to assume the character of philanthropists and instructors is a tribute to the moral tone of the age, and therefore gratifying; but it is not the less, on that account, to be included in that class of disguises to which Mr. Carlyle gives the name of sham. Admitting their right to this, or any title that may be convenient, we must advert briefly to a mistake in art which they commonly commit. In their anxiety to prove that they are duly qualified to act as lecturers on "Life," they are much given to run into an affectation of what can be only expressed by the American term *wordyism*, and are prone to excessive laudations of the Bohemian life, a state of existence the essence of which is, we understand, chronic insolvency. This, we think, is a grave error. We are not so stupid, fatuous, or, as they themselves would say, respectable, as to believe that pecuniary difficulties argue moral depravity. We are none of those who would think Aristides the less just for being obliged to avoid a street in Athens where he owed a bill for sandals, or deny Cato's right to be censorious because he did not find it convenient to pay for his toga on the spot. This sort of thing will happen to the possessors of the best-regulated consciences. But, seeing that there are certain prejudices on this point in certain minds, it is scarcely prudent for one in the delicate position of a popular teacher to run counter to them by giving vent to a jocularity which many will consider ill-placed. Thus, when Mr. Sala talks, in a strain of light and knowing banter all his own, about little bills, and Cursor-street, and his having been "hopelessly insolvent since the year '27, in which he was born," some persons, whose sense of humour is blunted by respectability, will fail to take in the fun of the allusions, and will perhaps even fancy that the fine moral things which occasionally fall from his lips are introduced as jokes also, and intended not so much for his auditory in general, as for the amusement of certain friends of his own who hold light notions on such subjects.

It is a pity Mr. Sala and his readers cannot come to some mutual understanding which would relieve him from these difficulties. Notwithstanding the *acharnement* with which, as he is pleased to say, the *Saturday Review* has always pursued him, we have derived too much amusement from his *Sketches of the Musical World*, from the imitatable histories of the "Old Bottle of Hay" and "Tattyboy's Rents," and others of his essays, not to feel a kind of personal liking for him, and we should be glad to see him in a position more natural and better suited to his powers and instincts. If he and his readers could be brought to confess honestly the real state of the case—he, that he writes as he does because he finds it is the style that suits him best, and they, that they read his works for the very sufficient reason that they find them amusing—the arrangement would be to the advantage of both parties.

A PAMPHLET BY A NAVAL OFFICER.*

MILITARY and naval officers appear to be quite alive to the opportunity which has lately been afforded them of indulging in the luxury of authorship on less disadvantageous terms than are open to the great majority of speculators in print and paper. In writing upon the subjects which now so deeply interest the

* *Whether the Navy of England is the Right Arm of the Empire?* By Captain A. Eardley-Wilmot, R.N., C.B., F.R.G.S. London: Cleaver, 1858.

public mind, members of the two services are able to urge at least one claim to notice which cannot always be alleged by book-makers—they really do possess a special knowledge of the matter of which they undertake to treat. In almost all the pamphlets with which the press has teemed during the past year, we find some information and suggestions of real value, mixed up, however, with more or less of familiar commonplaces, and of attempts at dealing profoundly with the subject, such as the author of a first work always seems to fancy are required of him by an insatiable appetite for tediousness which is strangely supposed to be a characteristic of the reading public.

We have now before us a pamphlet by Captain Eardley Wilmot, which, by way of title, asks *Whether the Navy of England is the Right Arm of the Empire?* and which bears the motto, "Deserve success, and you shall command it." It would be impossible for an author to announce more plainly that, if his readers will allow him, he will proceed to be extremely tiresome. Indeed, the prospect offered by Captain Wilmot was so exceedingly discouraging, that we feel inclined to claim some small credit for the resolution with which we began to read his pamphlet, and thereby convinced ourselves that he really had something to say which deserved a hearing. The great moral and political truths which are pointed at by the title-page may, at the present busy season for the British people, be taken for granted. It is more to the immediate purpose to discuss the soundness of the opinion that the introduction of steam has deprived the practised seaman of a great part of the superiority which formerly belonged to him in naval battles. If this opinion were only held by German reviewers and French colonels it need occasion us perhaps very small disquietude; but officers of high rank and large experience in our own navy have adopted the same conclusion, and have solemnly warned their countrymen of the dangers which may arise out of the altered conditions of maritime warfare. There are, however, some considerations which landmen habitually, and sailors occasionally, overlook when this subject comes to be discussed; and we think that Captain Wilmot's pamphlet, which was published about a year ago, deserves upon this point more attention than probably it has hitherto received.

"Gunnery," says Captain Wilmot, "is most important, but it will not refit a ship after action, when sails, rigging, and masts are torn and crippled." We have before had occasion to remark that the approved Continental programme of a naval battle always supposes that it shall be fought on a fine calm day. Another essential condition appears to be that a friendly port, with plenty of artificers and stores of every kind, shall be close at hand, and so placed that the most helpless of the combatants may float easily into hospital. Indeed, the whole course of campaigning, both by sea and land, is getting to be arranged as comfortably as a volunteers' field-day. The *Moniteur de l'Armée* instructs the French soldiers about to sail for China to be very particular always to change their clothes after getting wet, and above all things not to sit in a draught of cold air when heated. Following this excellent example, the Duke of Cambridge will probably direct commanding officers of British regiments to see that their men who may take cold on service are properly provided with hot water baths, gruel, and flannel night-caps. All such regulations have their origin in a truly admirable solicitude for the soldier's health and comfort; and they would be most useful, as well as pleasant, if it did not unfortunately happen that the dry clothes and boots, to say nothing of the foot-tubs and saucepans, are apt to fall hopelessly behind the fighting men, and to get jammed inextricably in the mass of struggling confusion which forms the rear of a large army when the campaign has actually begun. And even thus would it be at sea. It has indeed been suggested that artillery has now become so formidable as to threaten both the contending fleets with absolute and instantaneous destruction, which shall cause them utterly to disappear from off the face of Ocean without leaving anything behind except a few floating chips and a smell of gunpowder. But suppose that two hostile squadrons or single vessels contrive so far to mitigate their ferocity as to suspend the battle while both still remain afloat—suppose, in fact, that the same result is attained as in the old wars, only in a shorter time. The shattered and exhausted combatants cease firing, and busy themselves with repairing damages, in order presently to renew the action. Suppose, too, that the Continental programme should be interfered with by a stiff breeze of wind. A mast or two has perhaps been shot away, and the wreck has fouled the screw. Being incapable for the present of carrying sail, the ship rolls so that her guns could not be pointed accurately. Jurmasts have to be set up and rigging and sails repaired, and the screw wants to be righted, and the decks have to be cleared of killed and wounded men; and perhaps all this must be done, and done quickly, in a sea so rough that everything on the lower-deck is liable at any moment to be set afloat. A crew of practised seamen will do all these things, and more, in an incredibly short time; while another crew, who are merely skilled artillerymen, must await in helpless inactivity the moment when their adversaries, having again rendered their ship manageable, either by steam or sails, shall choose a position on their bow or stern which will make surrender the only alternative to destruction. This, at least, is how victories were gained in the last war. British captains too frequently neglected gunnery, but every possible manipulation of spars, ropes, and canvas was practised to the

weariness of the crews. It is in such circumstances as we have described that the smartness of the man-of-war's man—a quality which is disregarded in the merchant service, and of which civilians do not understand the value—makes all the difference between triumph and defeat. The martinet captain who is traditionally said to have made it a rule to flog the last man off the yard-arm, had at least a motive in his barbarity, which is more than can be alleged in excuse for other tyrants of the quarter-deck. He had sense enough to wish to command an alert crew, and by various and less objectionable means most of his brother officers laboured towards the same end. The result was, that in innumerable instances the damages received in action were repaired with a rapidity and fertility of resource that appears marvellous. It was common in old days to find on board a man-of-war not merely seamanship, but skill in various handicrafts, which the complete development of the dockyard system has probably tended to supersede. It must be remembered that when two ships, after an indecisive action, are lying mere hulks upon the water, a bit of a sail set upon a stump of a mast by one of them will give it for the moment an advantage over its enemy as great as, at another time, could be gained by substituting steam for sails. It is not absolute but comparative efficiency that decides battles. Most justly, then, does Captain Wilmot ask, "Is seamanship of no use to us, and will the gunner, so useful at his gun alone, be able to turn the tide of battle by promptitude and skill in refitting his ship to renew the fight?" No; but tried by such a test as this, the best and smartest seamen will then show themselves indispensable to the service. They would soon repair their damages, and place their ship in such a position as must render the contest hopeless to their opponent."

If, for these reasons, it appears dangerous to employ soldiers to fight a ship's guns, another favourite notion of the present day—that machines may be used to do a good deal of the work of seamen—will also deserve to be adopted with extreme caution. To say nothing of the "ugly splinters," which a distinguished officer thinks would become much too plentiful in action, the great objection to all such contrivances borrowed from civil life is that they suppose a state of wholeness and smoothness all around them which may be reasonably looked for upon the Great Western railway, but not upon the deck of a man-of-war in a gale following an engagement. The ever-varying exigencies of naval warfare can be met only by the promptitude and handiness of a numerous crew of seamen. Under present circumstances, and for a short time, it might happen that a fleet manned by conscripts well trained in gunnery could engage in battle upon equal terms. But it also might, and probably would occur, that the admiral who could rely upon the naval skill of those under his command would contrive to avoid fighting until the ever-changing sea should be in a mood to show the difference between a practised sailor and a mere marine artilleryman. "Seamanship must tell upon all occasions; and it will indeed be madness to substitute the 'force of mechanism,' as a general power, for the services of young and active seamen, bred upon the storms of the ocean, who ought to be found in plenty on board all our ships of war. They would well repay us in battle by making victory secure, when the guns had ceased to be of any service."

The foregoing, perhaps, are not very abstruse truths, and yet many persons speak and write daily upon naval matters without perceiving them. Indeed, the prevailing notions upon the subject have the sanction of such high professional authority, that we are glad to be able to quote an experienced officer like Captain Wilmot in support of the opinions which we have more than once ventured to express with such reserve as became landmen in writing upon naval matters. There is another question on which the judgment of Captain Wilmot is much more nearly in accordance with our own than have been the judgments of other writers—we mean as to the measure of the danger to be apprehended from a Russian fleet. Such a fleet, says this writer, is merely an artificial product of an Imperial will, and does not grow, like our own, out of the character and necessities of our people. Circumstances might for a very short time place a fleet of such a quality upon a level for fighting purposes with a British fleet; but it would be the business of a prudent commander to wait until the circumstances again became slightly altered. "The Russians are not sailors, although they know full well the value of a fleet;" and, what is more, they are not likely soon to become sailors. They have no colonies, and next to no merchant navy; and for six or eight months of the year their ships-of-war in the Baltic ports are kept inactive by the ice. "From all these circumstances, it is clearly incorrect to oppose the mere numbers of the Russian ships of the line and frigates to those of other nations, where their relative strength is in question." This was the view of matters taken by the British Admiralty, when it sent Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson with eighteen sail of the line into the Baltic to meet the possible combination of the fleets of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. It is true that much has been done since that day to improve and enlarge the fleet of Russia. But still the want of a commercial navy deprives her of a proper nursery for seamen; and besides, she has no merchantmen to protect, nor distant possessions with which to keep up a communication. She has not warlike business on her hands in remote corners of the globe, as is apt to be the case with ourselves; and hence the dexterity which can only be acquired by experience

must always be deficient in her fleets. Evolutions in the Baltic during the summer months are an imposing adjunct to Imperial magnificence; but if our own Government will only take reasonable precautions, we may regard them with the calm indifference of assured natural superiority.

HISTORICAL SCOTTISH RELICS.*

THOSE of the general public who were fortunate enough to attend the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute in Edinburgh in 1856, have now, at the close of 1859, an opportunity of purchasing a very beautifully illustrated catalogue of the temporary museum of antiquities and works of art then collected and thrown open for exhibition. But that many will avail themselves of their costly privilege we should consider in the highest degree improbable. For, whatever interest of association may have attached itself at the time to that fortuitous assemblage of curiosities, must long since have vanished. The collection itself has been dispersed, and a permanent record of its contents, at least in so sumptuous a form as it has assumed in the volume before us, is of but small value. We fear that we cannot hope for a remunerative sale of this book. Its publisher and its accomplished editor, Mr. Albert Way, have spared no pains to make it complete. But the delay in its appearance, which was probably unavoidable, is fatal to its chance of financial success. It will be bought, perhaps, by those who, having contributed some treasured heirloom to the Edinburgh Museum of 1856, will find here its history and description, and probably its portraiture. But, to the world at large, the varied and interesting contents of this volume will remain a dead letter. Facts and documents, however important, are buried out of sight in a publication of this kind. No one knows where to look for them. There is nothing in the title of this Catalogue to suggest to an inquirer in any particular department of archaeology that it might be worth his while to search its index. This is the great defect, in a practical point of view, of all such miscellaneous collections; but we can recall no more signal example than the present volume. However, the intrinsic importance of some of its contents, and the excellent way in which it has been compiled and illustrated, call for some recognition at our hands.

We shall not linger among the Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities, not connected with our own island, with which the volume opens. The next division, containing antiquities of the earlier periods found in North Britain, has more local interest. A plate presents a series of the chief forms of the flint arrow-heads of the Stone Age, and other woodcuts give us the shapes of mauls and celts, torcs and cups and urns, necklaces, bracelets and buttons, collars, rings and brooches and pins in the richest profusion. Chief among these figures the famous Hunterston Brooch, of silver wrought with gold filagree, and elaborately chased with lacertine and ribbon patterns, and with Runic inscriptions, which have been deciphered, of course, in ever so many different ways. This very curious ornament is assigned to the ninth or tenth century; and its form is so convenient and strong that it has been adopted into modern use. Of still greater interest is the "Baculum More," the pastoral staff of St. Moloe, one of the apostles of Scotland, who died about 630—a relic now in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. Dr. Daniel Wilson, in his *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, gives a most interesting description of other pastoral staves of equal antiquity, and in particular of the crook of St. Fillan, called the "Quigrich," which has been carried off to Canada by its hereditary possessors in their emigration. Connected with these early Christian relics are the four-sided metal bells with which all Scottish antiquaries are familiar. Three of them are figured in Mr. Way's catalogue.

Next we come to a few Romano-British antiquities, foremost among which is the Rudge Cup, found in Wiltshire. It is of brass, enamelled with red and blue and green, and engraved with names which, though not identified, are taken to represent stations on the Roman Wall in Northumberland. The mediæval period, which is by comparison inadequately represented, follows in order. Here we have camp-kettles and ewers, bucklers and battle-axes, thumb-screws and sword-hilts. Then there is a Highland relic—a powder-horn, bearing the initials and date G. R. 1685, and carved in interlacing knots and patterns—a proof, as the editor remarks, of the long vitality of national types of ornamentation. For this particular kind of work, which lasted till the last century, is scarcely distinguishable from the sculptured decoration of the most ancient monuments in Scotland and Ireland. The village stocks of the south part of our island were represented in North Britain by the "Jougs," an iron collar for the neck, fastened by a chain to a pillar or tree. These are still to be found attached to the porches of some Scotch churches, and a pair from Applegarth, in Dumfriesshire, is here figured. Comparing the present volume with the *Pre-historic Annals* before quoted, we may form from the two a somewhat startling picture of Scotch severity. Dr. Wilson, for instance, notices the brass collars, engraved with their sentence, which were riveted to the necks of convicts, who, so late as the last century, were judicially condemned by Scottish law to lifelong slavery, being "disposed of by gift, if not by

positive sale" to particular masters. Then, again, there is the "Branks"—"another Scottish instrument of ecclesiastical punishment, chiefly employed for the coercion of female scolds and those adjudged guilty of slander and defamation." It is a sort of skeleton iron helmet, with an iron gag to enter the mouth and "brankit," or bridle, the unruly tongue. Two such machines are here figured, one of them having a hole for the nose, and the other a kind of chin piece. They must have inflicted great torture. The latter, being engraved with a crowned W., is supposed to have been made in the time of William III. This belongs to Mr. Carrington. The other is preserved in the Elders' pew in St. Mary's Church in St. Andrew's. A still more cruel instrument is the Witch's Bridle of Forfar. This is dated 1661. It is an iron collar, with a sharp spiked cross so fixed inside that one point ran upwards under the chin, another downwards into the breast, and the third at right angles into the throat. The wretched victims of superstition were dragged by this frightful halter to the place of execution. Compared with this, the "Stool of Repentance," exhibited by Mr. Gibson Craig—a stiff, upright chair, with a coarse linen shirt in which the penitent was dressed during his punishment—was a very mild infliction. Scotland and New England combine to teach us that the ecclesiastical discipline of Jack Presbyter, when he has his own way, is quite as paternal as that of any prelatist that ever existed.

Among the original documents and manuscripts exhibited at the Edinburgh Congress there were some of great interest. For instance, Mr. Way gives, in facsimile from a deed bearing date 1575, the autograph signature of the Admirable Crichton. Captain Arbuthnot exhibited the Liber Beati Terrenani—a unique manuscript missal of the Scottish Use in the diocese of St. Andrew's at the end of the fifteenth century. This is now about to be published under the editorial care of the Bishop of Brechin and his brother. The Arbuthnot family have managed to preserve other ancient service books also, which is the more remarkable as the destructiveness of the Scotch Reformation was so great that it is recorded that the Regent Murray took six missals from Mary Queen of Scots herself and burnt them with his own hands. Of a very different kind of interest is the next object described—the original manuscript of the Treatise on Arithmetic and Algebra, by Napier of Merchistoun, the inventor of logarithms. Seals, and casts, and matrices, exemplifying what we here for the first time see called the Sphragistic Art, follow in great abundance, together with coins and medals—the latter illustrating in a very complete succession the later history of the deposed Stuart family, and ending with two struck in 1788 by the Cardinal of York, assuming the title of Henry IX. on the death of his elder brother, Charles Edward. The reverse has a device of Religion holding the Bible and Cross—at her feet the British lion, crown, and cardinal's hat, St. Peter's in the distance, with the legend *Non desideris hominum sed voluntate Dei*.

The most notable Scottish relic in the next department—that of carved ivory—is the Tenure Horn of Crathes, belonging to Sir James Burnett, a work of the fourteenth century; and in metal-work there are the mace of the University of Glasgow (made in 1465), the municipal insignia of Edinburgh (1609), the Lyon Cup of Strathmore, and the Assuanly Cup, now belonging to the Duke of Hamilton. Among the portraits exhibited there were one or two which might claim a place in the National Portrait Gallery, such as those of Sir Walter Raleigh and his wife. "Mons Meg," a famous Bombard, preserved in Edinburgh Castle, supposed to have been used at the siege of Dumbarton, in 1489, is illustrated by an elaborate drawing and section. Further on we find the standard of Earl Marischall of Scotland, carried on Flodden Field by Black John Skirving. And, in the same class of embroidery, there are a hawking-glove and a hawking-lure, and a gibecière (or pouch), all belonging to Lady North, which would make the mouths water of Messrs. Freeman and Salvin, those enthusiastic sportsmen who are labouring to revive falconry among us. Of the Stirling Heads, as the vigorously-carved medallions are called which were taken from the King's Room in Stirling, at its alteration in 1777, and which have been engraved in the *Lacunar Strevelinense*, several were exhibited at Edinburgh, and are described in the volume under review. One of these—a naked Genius with a scroll—is said to have been now engraved for the first time, having been omitted from the series just mentioned. But we suspect that Plate 33 of the *Lacunar* is a free version of the panel now possessed by Mr. Gibson Craig.

Finally, we come to a very curious and important collection of relics and portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, beginning with the famous Lennox or Darnley Jewel, now in the possession of the Queen. As to this, the editor adopts and confirms Mr. P. F. Tytler's speculations and interpretations. The fair Queen's silver hand-bell, belonging to Mr. Bruce of Kennet, and inscribed with enigmatical devices inside, affords a wide field for ingenious conjecture. The mystery, if there be one, can scarcely be said to be yet solved. Equally, if not more, obscure is the meaning of the monogram so often used by Queen Mary. Mr. Way accepts Mr. W. S. Walford's solution of this puzzle, and supposes that the elements of the cypher are the Greek letters ϕ and μ, standing respectively for Francis, the name of the Dauphin, her first husband, and for her own initial. We commend to the devoted partisans of the Queen of Scots the minute descriptions of her authenticated relics which Mr. Way has so diligently elaborated. Here they may find notices of the counters or

* *Catalogue of Antiquities, Works of Art, and Historical Scottish Relics Exhibited in the Museum of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland during their Annual Meeting held in Edinburgh, July, 1856.* Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1859.

jetons which she used, of the medals struck in her honour, the embroidery and tapestry and needlework wrought by her own hands or by her ladies; her watches, rings, and combs; books from her library, and autograph letters from her desk. Leaving these and a very curious collection of later Stuart relics unnoticed, we will conclude with some mention of the portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, many of which were assembled at Edinburgh.

The total impossibility of accepting as genuine all the utterly irreconcilable portraits that go by the name of Mary Stuart is well known to all who have paid any attention to the subject. Mr. Way has with much judgment investigated this perplexing artistic question chronologically, not without the help of Prince Labanoff, whose essay on this subject is probably known to some of our readers. He divides the extant portraits into well-defined groups. The earliest authentic portraits of Mary are supposed to have been painted about 1555, by Janet, while she was living affianced to the Dauphin at the French Court. These, which are very numerous, either as originals or as repetitions, form the first type of her portrait; but Mr. Way observes that they all make her look too old for that date. The next group, also chiefly by Janet, show her in her mourning for her youthful husband Francis II. Then comes the Morton portrait, believed to be an original by Horace Walpole, and selected by Miss Strickland for her *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*. It is supposed to have been painted about 1566, during Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, and is attributed by Prince Labanoff, though without much probability, to Lucas de Heere. The resemblance between this portrait and the effigy of Mary in Westminster Abbey, especially in the curves of the nose, is very striking. Many copies of this picture exist, with more or less important variations. Such are those at Hampton Court, Hatfield, Welbeck, and Hardwick. Mr. Way proves it to be highly improbable that Zuccaro, in his visit to England, ever had access to the captive Queen. The pictures assigned to him, therefore, if the genuine works of his hand, must be what Prince Labanoff calls "portraits de fantaisie."

There remains a probably authentic portrait of the unhappy Queen at the very close of her life, in the full-length, at Windsor, which the Queen permitted to be exhibited in 1857, in the remarkable series of Mary Stuart portraits collected by the Archaeological Institute, at their apartments in London. And, lastly, the monumental effigy in Westminster Abbey, erected by her son in 1612, twenty-five years after her execution, must be taken to be as correct a likeness as could then be recovered. A full-face portrait, carefully drawn by Mr. George Scharf, jun., from this recumbent statue, forms the frontispiece of the present volume. It shows little trace of the unfortunate Queen's reputed beauty. Mr. Way also gives copies of the Morton portrait, and of the Orkney portrait. It is difficult to imagine that the latter was ever meant to represent the same person as the former; and we thoroughly agree with the editor in assigning the pretty portrait of a young girl, belonging to Lord Napier, not to the Queen of Scots, but to the Infanta of Spain, who was to have married Charles I.

Upon the whole question, it is well observed that many of the more obvious discrepancies in the reputed portraits of Mary Stuart, such, for instance, as the colour of her hair, may be accounted for by the fact that, after the fashion of her time, she always wore artificial wigs. It is in evidence that Queen Elizabeth had eighty different attires of false hair; and of Queen Mary's waiting-woman, Mary Seton, it is recorded that "every other day she hath a new device of hair-dressing." The painful narrative of the fatal scene at Fotheringhay mentions that the decapitated head, when held forth by the executioner, denuded of its coverings, was "polled verie short." The sympathy excited all over Europe by the condemnation and cruel death of Mary, caused a great demand for her portraits. Doubtless, any copies, however bad or unauthentic, found a sale. It has been asserted that Sir John de Medina, so late as 1686, made a great traffic in pictures of the Queen of Scots; and the same is said of other painters, such as James de Wett and Bernard Lens. We may conclude our brief notices of this curious subject with a sensible extract from Mr. Way's essay:—

In a critical examination of the numerous portraiture attributed to Mary Stuart, whether paintings or engravings, those more especially of which the date may approximate to her period, we must make large allowances for the imperfections of art, for injuries and restorations; keeping also in view the fact how few were the artists who could have had any opportunity of painting her from the life. The eager desire for the possession of such memorials of the ill-fated Queen was not limited to her friends and partisans in this country; it caused, even to a comparatively recent time, extensive fabrications of portraits by various artists. Some of these must be considered purely fictitious, whilst in others may be traced the reproduction of such authorities as were available, modified as might best suit the caprice of the purchaser.

C E Y L O N .

Second Notice.

THE permanent attractions of Ceylon, as the great emporium for the exchange of Eastern and Western produce, have supplied its modern historians with an apparently inexhaustible store of the most polyglot authorities. The pages of Sir Emerson Tennent do not merely portray the island as it is in the present day, and reproduce its internal history from an early period, as

given in the sacred chronicles of the Pali verse. They show us, at least in part, Ceylon as it was known to the Greeks, Romans, Phenicians, Indians, Arabians, Persians, and Chinese, and later to the Genoese, Venetians, and other maritime peoples of modern Europe. It would be almost true to say that whatever nation has ever sailed the sea has either left, or attempted to leave, its mark upon Ceylon. But the tribe, or nation, or mixed population of marine adventurers which has maintained for the longest period an undisturbed connexion with the Singhalese, and planted in the island the most permanent settlement hitherto, is that of the Arabs, or "Moor-men," of the present day. Their exact origin, and the period of their introduction into Ceylon, are obscure. Their language is the Tamil of Malabar with a mixture of Arabic. Their own traditions point to a migration in force from Arabia to the southern coasts of the Indian peninsula and Ceylon, between the fifth and tenth centuries of our era; but there is every reason for believing them to be mainly descended from the Arab merchant-seamen who visited those seas at a far earlier date. However this may be, it is clear that, from the time of Marco Polo onwards, to the arrival of the Portuguese, they enjoyed the uncontested and immemorial possession of the harbourage, warehousing, and coasting departments of the commerce of Ceylon. They were numerous, active, bold, and wealthy enough to exercise considerable political influence in the affairs of the country; and it is, as Sir Emerson Tennent remarks, by no means an unreasonable conjecture, that, "but for the timely appearance of a Christian power in the island, Ceylon, instead of a possession of the British crown, might at the present day have been a Mahometan kingdom, under the rule of some Arabian adventurer." *Dis aliter visum*—the destiny of the land of cinnamon and pearls veered in another direction, as soon as it became accessible for the large ships of Western Europe by the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope. Within thirty years after the first sight of that promontory by Portuguese eyes a fortified factory had been raised by the Portuguese Viceroy of India upon the rocky beach of Colombo.

The outline of the Portuguese occupation of the maritime provinces of Ceylon is, from its commencement to its finishing point, the ordinary form of a first struggle between races of incompatible aims and ideas of civilization. An intermittent alliance between the foreign settlers and the Kings of Cotta, nominally the sovereigns paramount of the whole island, co-existed with a permanent state of hostility with the mountaineers of the inland ranges, which trained the Singhalese to the use of European weapons. Those who had never heard a gun fired at the beginning of the sixteenth century manufactured better firelocks than any European artisans before its close. The gradual dwindling of the influence of a dynasty resident upon the sea-coast, in face of the encroachments and growing assumptions of the Portuguese colony, transferred through a long civil war the actual seat of national sovereignty and the centre of national resistance to the mountain-fortress of Kandy. Rich possession as it always promised to be, it would appear that the occupation of Ceylon, in fact, neither paid its own expenses to the Portuguese nor strengthened their position in India. The object which, in the policy of Portuguese and Spanish adventure, always ran parallel to the lust of empire and gain—*la exaltacion de nuestra santa Fe Catolica*—was laboured for in Ceylon with the zeal and perseverance of an uncompromising State logic. The history and result of those labours have been given by Sir Emerson Tennent elsewhere, and are only slightly glanced at in the volumes before us; but a curious episode is cited by him from the pages of De Couto, touching the solemn burning of the sacred tooth of Buddha at Goa, in 1561, by the Viceroy Don Constantine of Braganza. The murder, some fifteen years earlier, of six hundred native Christians (converted by the followers of St. Francis Xavier) by the Rajah of Jaffnapatam, the alleged renewal of persecution by his successor, and the usurpation by him of the rights of his elder brother, a convert and fugitive in the hands of the Portuguese, gave the character of a sacred war of retribution to an expedition of which the main object was the conquest of the convenient island of Manaar. The sacred tooth was among the spoils of the great temple of Jaffna. The King of Pegu offered in ransom of the relic any amount of gold, and almost any terms that might be named, including an engagement to provision the fortress of Malacca at all times when called upon. The Viceroy and his chief captains were anxious to accept the offer. But the archbishop, prelates, inquisitors, and heads of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit orders at Goa thundered from the pulpit such loud denunciations of the crime of inciting to idolatry, that temporal considerations were powerless in the balance, and the annihilation of the "abominable relic" was resolved upon:—

The Viceroy called on the treasurer to produce the tooth. He handed it to the archbishop, who in their presence placed it in a mortar, and with his own hand reducing it to powder, cast the pieces into a brazier, which stood ready for the purpose; after which, the ashes and the charcoal together were cast into the river in sight of all, they crowding to the verandahs and windows which looked upon the water.

Many protested against this measure of the Viceroy, since there was nothing to prevent the Buddhists from making other idols; and out of a piece of bone they could shape another tooth in resemblance of the one they had lost, and extend to it the same worship; whilst the gold that had been rejected would have repaired the pressing necessities of the State. In Portugal itself much astonishment was expressed that these proceedings should have been assented to.

To commemorate the event, and to illustrate the spirit which had dictated an act approved by the Fathers of the Company, and signalized by zeal for

Christianity and the glory of God, a device was designed as follows: On an escutcheon was a representation of the Viceroy and the Archbishop surrounded by the prelates, monks, and divines who had been present on the occasion, and in the midst was the burning brazier, together with Buddhists offering purses of money. Above, the letter C, being the initial of Don Constantine, was repeated five times, thus—

C. C. C. C. C.

And below it the five words,

Constantinus cali cupidine crumenas cremavit,

The interpretation being that "Constantine, devoted to heaven, rejected the treasures of earth."

The anticipations of lukewarm or profligate cynicism were speedily realized by the appearance of two equally authentic teeth of Buddha, in place of the one which had been so absorbed into the dust of the universe—a phenomenon perhaps scarcely more singular or more suggestive than the notorious existence of a duplicate of the celebrated House of Loretto. When the Portuguese again took Jaffna, in 1617, the representative of the relic they had formerly destroyed had undeniably been exported to Pegu, and simultaneously been preserved from time immemorial in its present resting-place in Kandy, then the only remaining seat of a national kingdom.

Shortly before this time the Dutch appeared on the scene as rivals to the Portuguese and allies to the Kandians. Ships of the Dutch Foreign Company, founded in 1595, had first touched on the eastern coast of Ceylon in 1602, at Batticaloa. The Dutch agents lost no time in assuming with the King of Kandy the character of the man in the fable, who helped the horse to hunt the stag. The terms of the alliance were, as usual, variously understood or misconstrued, and the Kandian sovereign soon mistrusted his new friends. Up to 1627 no impression had been made on the power of the Portuguese, who then possessed a chain of eight strong fortified points round the coast of the island. Three years later, a Portuguese force of three thousand Europeans and half-castes, and some ten thousand low-country Singhalese, entered the mountains south-east of Kandy, and sacked the city of Badulla. On their return march the Singhalese treacherously deserted to the Kandians, and the Portuguese, with the governor himself, were massacred to a man. Their stronghold of Colombo was immediately beset, and only relieved by reinforcements from India when at the last extremity.

Raja Singha the Second (whose personal character as the type of an Eastern tyrant is familiar to the readers of Captain Knox's captivity) succeeded to the Kandian throne in 1632. A second expedition of the Portuguese into the mountain fastnesses and the plundering of Kandy was again the occasion of a counter-surprise. Their army was exterminated, and the mountaineers raised by way of trophy a pyramid of their skulls. In 1638 began the actual contest between the two European rivals, which was to end, after twenty years, in the expulsion of the Catholic power. Within two years, five of her fortified places had yielded to the Dutch; and, but for the double-dealing of the Kandian King, who had the skill and the boldness to play off the power and national character of one intruder against the other, it appears that the struggle might probably have been determined earlier. A ten years' truce, varied by alternate outrages covertly committed by Raja Singha against either party in such a manner as might tend to embroil it with its rival, was followed by a fresh declaration of war on the part of the Netherlands in 1652. They took Colombo in 1656, and naturally quarrelled with their Kandian ally on the question whether it was captured on his account or their own. In 1658, the last remaining strongholds of the Portuguese, Manaar and Jaffnapatam, capitulated; and, with the exception of a few settlers who established themselves as subjects of Raja Singha, they finally abandoned all interest in the island to the Dutch after a stormy possession of a hundred and thirty years.

In the next year, "the *Ann* frigate, of London, Captain Robert Knox commander," in the service of the Honourable the English East India Company, having cut away her mainmast in a storm in Masulipatam Roads, entered the "very commodious bay of Cottiar," or Trincomalee, to repair damages—the captain being at first "shy and jealous of the people of the place by reason our nation never had any commerce or dealing with them." How Rajah Singha inveigled on shore, captured, and carried into the mountains, Captain Knox, his son, and sixteen other Englishmen—with the details of that captivity, from which the younger Knox escaped after a brave and patient endurance of nineteen years—may be read in what Sir Emerson Tennent justly calls Knox's most charming and trustworthy personal narrative. It is written with such simplicity, accuracy, fulness of observation, and unconscious pathos of detail, as to remind us strongly of Defoe. We may add, that Defoe was himself so forcibly impressed with its truthfulness and interest as a story as to have retold its most salient features, word for word, out of Knox's own mouth, in his *Life of Captain Singleton*. And every touch of local description of habits or scenery in the "relation of Ceylon" is recognised by Sir Emerson Tennent as pertinent and true. As the first survey by one of "our nation" of the island which has since become our colony, this account must always possess a special value, setting apart the peculiarity of the adventures which caused it to be written, and the striking marks of character which it displays.

The occupation of the Ceylon seaboard by the Dutch was regulated by very different principles from those which ordered the policy of their predecessors. The "exaltation of our sacred

creed" of trade-profits was their sole motto. As in Japan, so in Ceylon, they were willing to pocket with a Quakerlike meekness all insults and outrages which did not interfere with the routine of their business, or trench upon the completeness of their monopolies. They abandoned the forts and harbours of the eastern coast on the most narrowly commercial considerations, on finding the extent to which their chief export of cinnamon was procurable in the western lowlands. And after a long experience of the constant annoyances and obstructions suffered by their cinnamon-peelers in the woods of the interior at the hands of the Kandians, they contracted the sphere of their labours to artificial plantations within range of their fortresses, in lieu of adopting the bolder but more costly expedient of maintaining a sufficient escort for the protection of their workmen. The narrower limits of the cinnamon cultivation became, the more strictly was it fenced round by law as the exclusive right of the State. Every cinnamon tree which might grow by chance in the ground of an individual was fiscal property in virtue of its very existence, and the State servant might enter the garden to peel it. If the landowner wrongfully peeled or sold the cinnamon, or destroyed the intrusive tree, he incurred the penalty of death by Dutch law. Notwithstanding the exclusiveness of this and other State monopolies, it would appear from the official reports of various Dutch commissioners that the policy of Holland in Ceylon was no more reproductive than that of Portugal had been. From mismanagement, ill-success, or fraud among the ill-paid civil servants and officers, year after year showed a constant deficit in the revenue. Ceylon was sarcastically compared by one of its governors to a Dutch tulip, bearing a fabulous nominal price without any intrinsic value. When, in 1796, the flag of Holland disappeared with only a nominal struggle from the fortresses of Ceylon, she lost nothing, carried away nothing, and left little behind her as the record of a hundred and forty years, except a rigidly unpliant code of Roman Dutch law. Arrogant, cruel, fanatical, and ambitious as the character of the Portuguese dominion may have been, its memorials are extant and vivid even now, in the maintenance of its religious faith, and the use in the language of daily life of its common terms of description, and its chivalrous titles of honour. The records of English supremacy will, we trust, before they are completed, show a very different result in regard to the Singhalese from those of either of our predecessors in the occupation of the sea-coast provinces of the island.

We have had, in Ceylon as elsewhere, one of those warnings against the use of dubious morality and unprincipled instruments in playing a game with semi-barbarous adversaries, which sometimes succeed, and sometimes fail, in awaking the interest of a busy, domestic, and self-concentrated nation to the conduct of its responsible agents and emissaries in remote corners of the world. The private correspondence of the first English Governor, Mr. North, with the Marquis of Wellesley, has been carefully examined by Sir James Tennent, and is found by him to "throw a light altogether new" upon the "more than questionable negotiations between Mr. North and the prime minister of the King of Kandy, which were the prelude to the lamentable massacre of the British troops in 1803." Questionable enough they are, indeed, on Lord Valentia's—that is, on Mr. North's—own showing. It is clear that, with a full knowledge that the deposition of the last King of Kandy, and the substitution of an heir whose title to the throne might technically be questioned, and whose youth and character might probably make him a mere puppet and tool, were the work of the Adigar, Pilámé Taláwé—with an equally full knowledge of the contemplated treason of the Adigar against the King he had set up—Mr. North was ready to intrigue with the Adigar for an arrangement, upon any terms specious enough not palpably to compromise the British name, involving the establishment of a military protectorate and a subsidized British force at Kandy. In the course of these negotiations, the Adigar had frankly asked whether, in the event of other schemes to this end failing, such and such aggressions on the part of the Kandians would induce the British Government to take up arms. Mr. North had answered that they certainly would, but that his displeasure against the Adigar personally in such a case would be extreme. The scheme for the introduction of a permanent force under the guise of an ambassador's escort did fail. The requisite aggressions for a *casus belli* were committed, by order (Mr. North had evidence before him) of the Adigar. Mr. North sent 3000 men, under General MacDowell, to Kandy, deposed the King, placed another puppet, Mootoo Sawmy, on the throne, imposed the conditions of a large cession of territory and the subsidizing a British contingent, and by a separate convention made "the illustrious Lord Pilámé Taláwé" Grand Prince and supreme Governor of Kandy. Mr. North's treacherous implement turned in his hands, and the next plot of the "illustrious lord" was aimed at the extermination of the British power in the island. A sudden overpowering rise of the Kandians against the British garrison in Kandy, in June, 1803, ended in a capitulation which was sure to be violated, a hopeless attempt to march out under an incompetent commander, and a solemn massacre of the English, unarmed, and two by two, on the banks of a swollen stream. One man alone, a corporal of the 19th, escaped to the nearest fort on the Trincomalee Road, in time to save its little garrison by a forced retreat from a similar annihilation. There is a singular coincidence in many of the details with the equally striking punishment which was to be exacted in the defiles of Khoord Cabool, some thirty-nine years

later, for the equally questionable and wanton invasion of Afghanistan. But the "tower of Siloam" which then fell with such a crash, to the surprise and horror of careless sympathizers with Shah Soojah at home, fell upon twice as many thousand English heads as there had been hundreds at Kandy.

The magnificent exploit of Captain Johnston, who, with an unsupported detachment fought his way from Batticaloa to Kandy in 1864, held it three days, and retreated with but slight loss to the coast, was the only attempt made to avenge the disaster which had arisen from Mr. North's policy. It was not until 1815, when the treacherous Adigar had been beheaded for some newer treason against his legitimate tyrant, that a British army (this time in a good cause, and with the undoubted sympathy of the Kandyan people), occupied the capital of Kandy, and witnessed the completion of the title of Great Britain to the whole island of Ceylon, and the extinction of an independence of more than two thousand years.

A prophet had foretold that the Kandyan Kingdom would perish "when a bullock should be driven through a certain hill, and a horseman ride through a rock." We clenched the conquest of the kingdom by an *ex post facto* fulfilment of the prophecy. The military road from Colombo to Kandy, a ten years' work of piercing rocks, scarping precipices, and bridging torrents, until the horseman could ride through a rock six thousand feet above the sea, was one among our earliest undertaken proofs of our fitness to hold and to improve the possession we had won. When we have done as much for the irrigation of the island as we have for its land-communications, and restored or rivalled the Great Tank of Padavil, and the other mighty works of water-engineering which are the ruined monuments of the Wijayan Kings, we may talk with some justifiable pride of our tenant-right in Ceylon.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

THE sentiments and speculations of a learned, thoughtful, and religious Jew on the possible or probable connexion of the destinies of his faith and race with those of the civilized world in a more or less distant future, are a subject of great interest and legitimate curiosity, even among those who would least assent to his premisses, or most widely differ from his conclusions. Speculations of this nature will be found in two volumes from the pen of a Jew to whose learning, sagacity, and piety France has long yielded a ready homage. M. Salvador's name will be familiar to all as the author of three works which occupy a high place among the productions of the Hebrew mind during the present century. Their titles are respectively as follows—*Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du Peuple Hébreu*, 3 vols. in 8vo, 1828; *Jésus Christ et sa Doctrine*, 2 vols., 1838; *La Domination Romaine en Judée*, 2 vols., 1846. A descendant of one of the Jewish families expelled from Spain in the fifteenth century, M. Salvador (whose name is only a translation of Joshua) has devoted all his life to the past history of his race, and now in his sixty-third year he gives the fruit* of all his speculations, by pointing out the bearings of his inquiries on the progress of civilization. The Present, the Past, the Future, he takes to be respectively represented by Paris, Rome, Jerusalem; but the greatest of these is Jerusalem, as destined to reveal that religious renovation of the world of which the political counterpart came to the birth in the Revolution of 1789. The author passes successively from Paris, the seat of revolution, through Rome, the focus of reaction, to Jerusalem, the cradle of an effete world's final renovation. The three parts into which the work is thus divided fall into three periods—namely, 1789 to 1815, 1815 to 1840, and 1840 to 1856.

Very interesting is the account of the incident which induced the author in early youth to address himself to the particular field of inquiry of which these volumes are the latest fruit. When a lad at college, he happened to stumble on a newspaper which contained a narrative of some acts of violence and persecution which had been perpetrated on some Jews in a small town in Germany. The ruffians, as was their wont, had hounded each other on with the cry of *Hep! hep! hep!* (whence our *hip, hip*), being the initials of the words *Hierosolyma est perdita*, as the editor of the newspaper took care to inform his readers. The effect produced on the young Jew is thus described by M. Salvador:—"Pendant toute la nuit, ce mot *Hep* me revint à la pensée. A mon lever je le répétais à haute voix. Aux leçons des maîtres les plus éminents, en feuilletant mes livres, en causant avec mes amis, ce même mot bourdonnait incessamment à mes oreilles. Ah! *Hierosolyma est perdita* disais-je, en me parlant à moi-même; en êtes vous certains? Pour ma part, je ne vous envoie que confusion dans cette histoire. Il me semble pourtant que la question mériterait d'être réexaminée. . . . De jour en jour l'épisode prit un intérêt dominateur, et malgré les sacrifices souvent cruels pour mon repos qui durent lui être faits, il finit par se rendre maître de toutes mes facultés, de mon temps, de ma vie." We should state that the work is written in the shape of letters. We fear that in England some distaste for such studies may have been engendered by the nauseous mixture of

Young Englandism with Hebrew sympathies with which Mr. Disraeli drugged the market. We venture to affirm, however, that any one who can sufficiently conquer his repugnance to take the book up will not readily lay it down.

As a useful companion, we may mention a History of the Jews in France, Italy, and Spain, from the dispersion to the present day.* The author is himself a Jew and *Bâtonnier*, or leader of the bar of Montpellier. He passes under review the principal measures affecting the welfare of the Jew which have been passed in the countries specified from the fourth to the nineteenth century, noticing *pari passu* the commercial status and literary activity of his countrymen. M. Bédarride considers that there are in the world about seven millions of Jews—an estimate considerably lower than what has been made by others. The obligations which the Middle Ages were under to the Jews, not so much for standard productions of literature, as for keeping alive the taste for learning, and for transmitting and translating Hebrew and Arabic texts, are so numerous and important that we regret M. Bédarride was unable to devote more space to their elucidation. But for all this, the intolerant persecution inflicted on them by Christians did but wax hotter and hotter. M. Bédarride, however, shows great liberality and moderation in speaking against these persecutions. His book is no declamatory retort upon Christianity for its most unchristian acts, but rather a painstaking narrative of all that fell within the scope of his undertaking, illustrated with copious notes and references. Perhaps the notice which these two works, and especially the former, have attracted in France, may go some way towards arousing the hostility to that temporal power of the Pope of which the Mortara case was such a flagrant but withal logical abuse.

M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire has lately published a most interesting work† on Buddha and Buddhism, which is made up out of a selection, in a somewhat more popular form, of the articles which he has from time to time published in the *Journal des Savants*, on various translations of Buddhist texts. Buddhism, which prevails in the present day, with diverse modifications, in Kaschmir, Nepal, Thibet, Tartary, Mongolia, a great part of China, Japan, the kingdom of Annam, Birmah, and the island of Ceylon, dates from the seventh century before our era, Buddha having been born B.C. 622, and having died B.C. 543. Buddhism regards man as a being full of sorrow—a legacy of woe inherited from a series of previous existences, of which he is doomed to bear the burden. Starting with this fatal adhesion to the popular doctrine of transmigration, Buddhism does not care to look upward to any principle superior to man, but merely sets itself to find some way of escape from this intolerable anguish of changing states of existence. A code of morality is proclaimed, and eternal salvation is promised to all who shall conform to it. "Or le salut éternel quel est-il? et comment l'homme peut-il se soustraire à la loi de la transmigration? Par un seul moyen, c'est d'arriver au néant, au *Nirvâna*. Une fois anéanti, grâce à la pratique des austérités et des vertus que le Bouddha recommande, l'homme est bien assuré de ne plus renaître sous quelque forme que ce soit, dans le cercle odieux des existences; et quand tous les éléments dont il était composé, matériels et spirituels seront détruits sans retour, il n'a plus rien à craindre de la transmigration: l'aveugle fatalité, qui emporte toutes choses dans l'univers, n'a plus d'empire sur lui." Such is the system of which M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire has undertaken to trace the history. It is divided into three parts. In the first he describes Buddhism at its first appearance, and relates the life and legend of its author. On this point, and especially on the chronology—a most intricate matter—M. B. St.-Hilaire might probably have been led to modify some of his conclusions if he had read pp. 262—273 of M. Max Müller's history of *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*. In the second part, M. B. St.-Hilaire traces a picture of Buddhism 1200 years after the death of its founder, from the details preserved in the Memoirs of Hiouen-Tsang, the Chinese missionary of the seventh century of our era, whose works have been recently translated by M. Stanislas Julien. In the third part he studies Buddhism, so to speak, from the life, as it now flourishes in Ceylon. We suspect this work will have a larger circulation in England than in France. To whatever country it may penetrate, the name of its author will ensure it respectful attention.

If all the articles in the new volume of Didot's *Biographie Générale* were as able and interesting as that with which it opens on Lavoisier, from the pen of the editor, Dr. Hoefer, or that on Leibnitz, from the same hand, we should be able to speak more highly of it than we are now justified in doing. We have already had occasion to complain of the decline in the last few volumes from the standard to which Dr. Hoefer worked up his contributors in the earlier volumes. Original articles, too, seem to give way more and more to *réchauffés* of articles published in older *recueils*. It is only here and there, as in the case of *Lemercier*, the dramatist of the First Empire, and of *Leopardi*, the Italian poet, that we meet with articles which have some freshness and spirit about them. The notice on Lessing,

* *Les Juifs en France, en Italie, et en Espagne*. Par T. Bédarride. Paris: Lévy. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

† *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*. Par J. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire. Paris: Didot. London: Jeffs. 1859.

‡ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Tome xxx. Paris: Didot. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

* *Paris, Rome, Jérusalem, ou la Question Religieuse au Dix-Neuvième Siècle*. Par J. Salvador. 2 vols. Paris: Lévy. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

for example, is very meagre. We can but reiterate our caution to Dr. Hofer to give greater vigilance to the execution of his task. The quality of the articles must be greatly raised if the *Biographie Générale* is to prove a good speculation.

M. Lenient has published a very able and conscientious work on satire in France* during the Middle Ages. He has the modesty to disclaim in his preface all pretensions to pure erudition. Still we maintain that in few volumes of this stamp have we met with so much independent research put into so agreeable a shape. It was in parody and in satire that the *Esprit Gaulois* found its fullest and freest manifestation during the Middle Ages. In no country was that manifestation so universal and so varied as in France. Through what successive phases it waxed from the crescent to the full, it is the object of M. Lenient to show. "C'est l'histoire de cette singulière puissance que nous allons essayer de raconter. Nous la verrons côtoyer partout l'histoire sérieuse et s'y mêler le plus souvent; jeter au milieu de la lutte des partis et du conflit des ambitions, ses traits piquants, ses allusions malignes, ses aigres censures, et parfois aussi ses éloquentes anathèmes, ses généreuses protestations. Notre point de départ sera le treizième siècle, le moment où s'éveille, avec les universités et les communes, l'esprit laïque et bourgeois; notre point d'arrêt, le seizième siècle, l'heure où s'ouvre avec la Renaissance et la Réforme une ère nouvelle."—p. 16. One of the most interesting chapters in this excellent work is that in which the fine arts are placed before us as ministering to the satirical bent of the people in the architecture and ornamentation of their cathedrals. The examples set forth in the succeeding chapters on the Last Judgment and the Dance of Death are the fruit of careful research. M. Lenient seems to contemplate prosecuting his inquiries to a later period. We trust he may meet with encouragement to do so in the success of this first instalment to our knowledge of one of the most marked features of the French character.

Our readers will have seen in the Paris correspondence of our daily contemporaries that the French Government made haste to seize all the copies of *La Démocratie*,† by M. Etienne Vacherot. We think M. Billault disquieted himself in vain. To M. Vacherot's 18mo might safely have been extended that *liberté des in-octavos* which other Opposition writers have enjoyed without stint. The author of the *Histoire Critique de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, and of the *Métaphysique Positive*, is too far removed from the comprehension of the masses to render the circulation of *La Démocratie* dangerous. We do not think any one will be repaid by the perusal of this work. We thought that the time had gone by for men of education to talk of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; and we thought further that M. Vacherot was too clear-headed a man not to see that Liberty and Equality are contrary the one to the other. The Democracy of Society, of a State, and of a Government—such are the three principal divisions of the book. We do not think that many Englishmen will be disposed to wade through the four hundred pages of which the work is composed, or be much the better for it if they do. M. Vacherot, it will be remembered, was compelled, in 1851, to resign his office of Director at the *Ecole Normale*, in consequence of a feud with the *aumônier*, the Abbé Gratre. Certain it is that the views expressed in this book on religion—which is styled a "fait social transitoire"—would scarcely meet with the approbation of a minister of any Christian communion.

But what are the profound speculations of Salvador, what the polished erudition of Barthélemy St. Hilaire, when set in the balance against the obscene propriety of M. Michelet? The author of *L'Amour* has added a new volume to the *Art de vérifier les Dates* by a work called *La Femme*,‡ which we doubt not will be devoured in France with the greatest avidity by thousands of readers of both sexes. It is, however, too disgusting both in matter and treatment for us to do more than allude to it.

M. Scudo has published another volume§ of musical criticisms inserted in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, from November 1854 to November 1858. These articles are twenty-five in number, and are useful as a kind of panorama of the chief operas and concerts, &c., which have been executed in Paris during the last four years. It is a general defect of musical criticism that it is not sufficiently elementary—is too much overlaid with technical jargon which only conceals poverty of thought. From such defects M. Scudo is remarkably free. Among the most interesting chapters are those on Weber, *Zampa*, the *Traviata*, and *Lablache*. Verdi is disposed of as a "musicien de décadence." "Il en a tous les défauts, la violence du style, le décousu des idées, la crudité des couleurs, l'impropriété du langage, avec d'énormes prétentions à l'effet." In this verdict, we believe, most of the musical oracles combine in unwonted harmony—Verdi excepted.

The disgusting duel to which the *Spreta injuria formæ* gave rise between George Sand and Alfred de Musset's surviving brother

* *Satire en France au Moyen Age*. Par C. Lenient, Professeur de Rhétorique au Lycée Napoléon. Paris: Hachette. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

† *La Démocratie*. Par Etienne Vacherot. Paris: Chamerot. London: Jeffs. 1859.

‡ J. Michelet: *La Femme*. Paris: Hachette. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

§ *Critique et Littérature Musicale*. Par P. Scudo. Paris and London: Hachette. 1859.

has now reached a new phase. In the preface to her new novel *Jean de la Roche* (in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of October and November), Madame Sand returns Paul de Musset's shot, and seems to imply that another work is to be expected from her in order to avenge the memory of Alfred de Musset, so grievously outraged by his friends. But this is not all. A third combatant has descended into the arena, unfettered by any old-fashioned notions of decency or self-respect. To *Elle et Lui* and *Lui et Elle* has now been added *Lui** from the pen of Madame Louise Colet. The authoress—if indeed it be a woman that can thus unsex herself—makes out that she was the confidante of the Marquise Stéphanie de Rostan, and having thus divided her identity in order that she might the more conveniently offer up incense at the shrine of her own charms, professes to tell the world all the adventures of the said Marquise (alias Madame Colet) with Albert de Lincel alias Alfred de Musset. He in turn is made to narrate his episode with Antonia Back, to wit, George Sand. Such, in a general way, is the drift of this vile book, which is only worth naming as indicating the social and moral state that can produce and tolerate it.

What a relief it is to turn from such a book as *Lui* to M. Edouard Laboulaye's exquisite tale—*Abdallah*.† As may be inferred from the title, it is a "conte Arabe," a "traduction d'un original inconnu." Even if we regard it merely as a pastiche of Eastern literature, we should call it extremely clever. How much more, when to this merit are added singular beauty of style, unexceptionable morality of teaching, and considerable interest of story. Or if this poetry of an older world shall not be considered real enough—photographs in literature being as much the fashion, alas! as in art—Madame Léonie d'Aunet's *Nouvelles*‡ have at least this good quality, that they leave no unpleasant taste in the mouth. Madame d'Aunet is an old acquaintance. Our readers will remember *Une Vengeance* and *Un mariage en Province*. Even M. Alfred Assollant's somewhat melodramatic production, —*Deux Amis en 1792*§—would be a godsend in the midst of such a flood of unclean imaginations as those in which more eminent novelists find it a good investment to wallow.

* Madame Louise Colet: *Lui*. Roman Contemporain. Paris. London: Jeffs. 1860.

† *Abdallah, ou le Trèfle à Quatre Feuilles*. Conte Arabe par Edouard Laboulaye. Paris and London: Hachette (Bibl. des Chemins de Fer). 1860.

‡ *Elle-même—Silène—Le Secret*. Nouvelles par Madame Léonie d'Aunet. Paris and London: Hachette (Bibl. des Chemins de Fer). 1860.

§ *Deux Amis en 1792*. Par Alfred Assollant. Paris and London: Hachette. 1860.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

CONTENTS OF No. 213, NOVEMBER 26, 1859:—

The European Congress. Anglia Rediviva.
The Financial Reformers. The French Government and the Press.
Democracy in Cities. Dioctetian.
James's Counterblast. General Garibaldi.
John Bull. Don Juan at the Alhambra.
Horse-Guards Missives. The Volunteer Movement.
Gil Blas. Trollope's West Indies.
Cæcilia Metella. Maritime States and Military Navies.
Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages.

London: Published at 39, SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, W.C.

THEATRE ROYAL DRURY LANE.—LAST WEEK OF THE PROMENADE CONCERTS, which will positively terminate on Monday, the 12th inst. Herr WIENIAWSKI every evening till Saturday next, when he will make his last appearance in this country. Vocalists—Mad. LEMKENS-SHERBINGTON, Mad. LOUISA VINTING, Miss DOLBY, Miss LAURA BAXTER, and Miss CLARI FRASER. Orchestra of Eighty Performers, including the most popular Solo Artists. Conductor, Mr. MANNS.—Promenade, Boxes, and Amphitheatre, 1s.; Dress Circle, 2s. 6d.; Private Boxes, 10s. 6d. and 21s.

DRURY LANE PROMENADE CONCERTS:—The Rifleman's March, "COME, IF YOU DARE," by A. MANNS, dedicated to the Volunteer Rifle Corps of England, having been most enthusiastically received and nightly encored, will be repeated every evening.

GALLERY OF ILLUSTRATION.—POPULAR MUSIC OF THE OLDEN TIME.—Miss POOLE and Mr. RAMSDEN will give a MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT on the OLD ENGLISH SONGS and BALLADS, interspersed with Anecdote, written by W. CHAPPELL, F.S.A. Every evening this week at Eight o'clock; also on Saturday Morning at Three o'clock, and in the Evening at Eight.—Tickets, 3s., 2s., 1s., to be had of Cramer, Beale, and Chappell, 201, Regent-street; Chappell and Co., 59, New Bond-street; and at the Gallery of Illustration, 14, Regent-street.

MISS POOLE and MR. RAMSDEN will give their MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT on the OLD ENGLISH SONGS and BALLADS, with Anecdote, written for them by W. CHAPPELL, F.S.A., at the GALLERY of ILLUSTRATION, 14, Regent-street, every Evening at Eight o'clock. Applications for engagements after the 10th December to Cramer, Beale, and Co., 201, Regent-street.

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See Programmes.

MR. ALBERT SMITH'S CHINA IS NOW OPEN every night (but Saturday) at Eight o'clock, and Tuesday and Saturday Afternoon at Three o'clock.—Stalls, 3s., which can be taken at the Box Office, Egyptian Hall, daily, from Eleven till Six; Area, 2s.; Gallery, 1s.

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL WINTER EXHIBITION OF CABINET PICTURES, DRAWINGS, and SKETCHES, the Contributions of British Artists, is NOW OPEN, at the FRENCH GALLERY, 120, Pall Mall. Admission, 1s.; Catalogues, 6d. Open from Ten to Five.

DAVID ROBERTS'S SKETCHES IN SPAIN.—The EXHIBITION of the SPANISH SKETCHES taken by DAVID ROBERTS, R.A., during his tour in Spain in the years 1832 and 1833 is NOW OPEN from Ten till Five at the GERMAN GALLERY, 168, New Bond-street. Admission 1s. Descriptive Notes and Remarks, 1s.

LECTURES on the FINE ARTS and ART COLLECTIONS will be delivered at the SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM, on the following Tuesday Evenings, at Eight o'clock.

Three Lectures "On Ceramic Art." By J. C. ROBINSON, Esq., F.S.A., Curator of the Art Collections, South Kensington Museum.

6th December.—"On Ancient Greek Painted Pottery."

13th December.—"On Italian Majolica Wares."

20th December.—"On Porcelain Wares in General."

10th January, 1860.—"On the Uses of the Art Library." By ROBERT H. S. SMITH, B.A., Assistant-Keeper of the Art Collections, South Kensington Museum.

17th January.—"On the Arts of Egypt." By Dr. G. KINKEL, formerly Professor of the History of Art and Civilization in the University of Bonn.

24th January.—"On the Arts in Assyria." By Dr. G. KINKEL.

The Lecture-Theatre will hold 450 persons; 350 seats will be reserved for persons engaged in teaching, who, upon registering their names, will obtain tickets, at 6d. each, for the whole Course. Tickets for the remaining 100 reserved seats will be issued at 5s. each for the Course, or 1s. each Lecture, when there may be room in the Theatre. Tickets may be obtained at the Museum and Offices, and at Messrs. Chapman and Hall's, 193, Piccadilly.

By order of the Committee of Council on Education.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S SCHOOL, IPSWICH.—A MASTER of the MODERN DEPARTMENT will be REQUIRED AFTER CHRISTMAS. Testimonials to be addressed to the Rev. HUBERT HOLDEN, M.A., Head Master.

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7, ROYAL EXCHANGE, 30th of November, 1859.

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JOHN LAWRENCE, Secretary.

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1. A Volunteer must be a British Subject;
2. He must be free from infirmity;
3. He must not be over thirty-five years of age;
4. He must, within the ten years previous to his joining the Reserve, have been five years at sea, one year of that time as an A.B.

ADVANTAGES OF THE RESERVE.

1. A Volunteer will at once receive an annual payment or retainer of £6, payable quarterly;
2. He will, if he fulfils his obligations and is in the Reserve the requisite time, receive a pension of not less than £12 a year whenever he becomes incapacitated from earning a livelihood, or at sixty years of age if not previously incapacitated;
3. He may elect either to take the whole pension himself, or to take a smaller pension for himself during his life, and to allow his wife a pension after his death, for the remainder of her life;
4. He will not, on account of belonging to the Reserve, forfeit any interest in any Friendly or Benefit Society;
5. His travelling expenses to and from the place of drill will, when necessary, be provided;
6. He will, during drill, receive, in addition to the retaining fee, the same pay, victualling, and allowances as a seaman of the fleet according to his rating;
7. He will, if called out on actual service, receive the same pay, allowances, and victuals, and have the same prospect of promotion and prize money, as a continuous service seaman of the fleet according to his rating, and he will on joining receive the same clothing, bedding, and mess traps;
8. He will, if wounded or injured in actual service, receive the same pension as a seaman in the Navy of the same rating;
9. He will be eligible to the Coast Guard Service and Greenwich Hospital;
10. He may quit the Reserve, if not at the time called out for actual service, at the end of every five years; he may also quit it, when not called out, on paying back the retainers he has received; or, without payment, if he passes an examination as a Master or Mate, and obtains bona fide employment as Master or Mate.

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1. A Volunteer must attend drill for twenty-eight days each year; he may do so, so far as the convenience of the public service will permit, at a time and place convenient to himself; but he cannot in any case take less than seven days' drill at any one time;
2. He must not, without special permission, proceed on a voyage that will occupy more than six months;
3. He must appear before some Shipping Master once in every six months, unless he has leave to be abroad longer, and he must report every change of residence and employment;
4. In order to earn a Pension he must continue in the Reserve as long as he is physically competent to serve, and he must also have been in the force fifteen years if engaged above thirty, or twenty years if engaged under thirty. In reckoning this time actual service in the fleet will count double;
5. Volunteers may be called upon for actual service in the Navy by Royal Proclamation. It is intended to exercise this power only when an emergency requires a sudden increase in the Naval Force of the country;
6. A Volunteer may, in the first instance, be called out for three years. If there is then actual war, and he is then serving in one of Her Majesty's ships, he may be required to serve for two years longer; but for the additional two years he will receive 2d. a day additional pay;
7. Volunteers when on drill or actual service will be subject to Naval Discipline;
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